



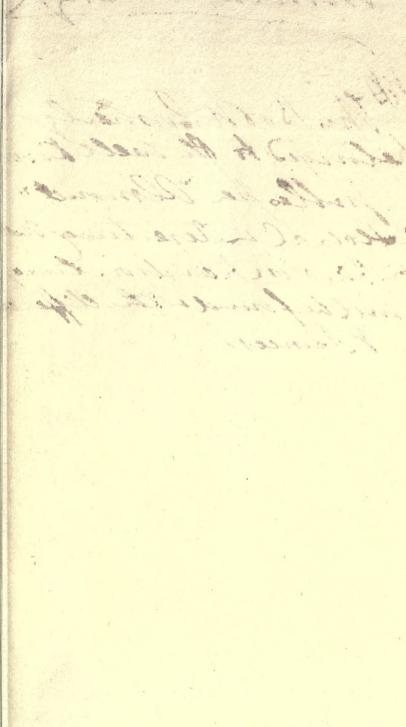
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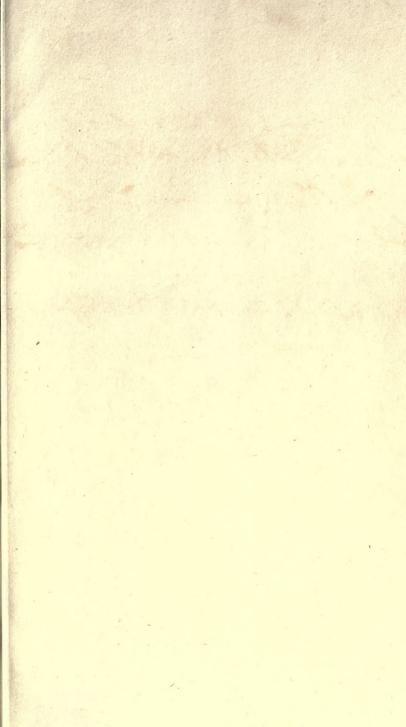
Bertram A. Davis from the books of the late Lionel Davis, K.C.



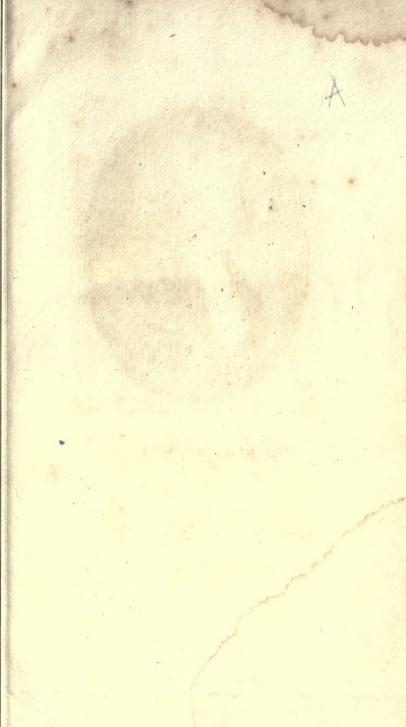




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### SIR ROBERT WALPOLE, Earl of Orford.

From an Original Painting in Enamel by "Linck" In the Population of the Hon " Me He' Halpole .

Published Nov! 2 1797 by Cadell & Davies Strand



#### MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE AND ADMINISTRATION

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE,

Earl of Orford,

IN THREE VOLUMES.

BY

WILLIAM COXE, M.A. F.R.S. F.A.S.

RECTOR OF BEMERTON.

A NEW EDITION.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL, JUN. AND W. DAVIE: IN THE STRAND. 6.6.44

1800.

" OMNIA PRIUS EXPERIRI VERBIS QUAM ARMIS SAPIENTEM DECET."

TERENCE.

"THE BLOOD OF MAN SHOULD NEVER BE SHED BUT TO REDEEM THE BLOOD OF MAN. IT IS WELL SHED FOR OUR FAMILY, FOR OUR FRIENDS, FOR OUR GOD, FOR OUR COUNTRY, FOR OUR KIND. THE REST IS VANITY, THE REST IS CRIME."

BURKE.

DA 501 W2C68 1800

LUKE HANSARD, Printer, Great Turnstile, Lincoln's-Inn Fields. REVD. HUMPHREY SUMNER, D.D. PROVOST,

AND TO THE

FELLOWS AND SCHOLARS

OF

KING'S COLLEGE

IN THE

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE,

THESE

MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE,

(ONCE A SCHOLAR OF THEIR SOCIETY)

ARE RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED

DV

THE AUTHOR,

WHO IS INDEBTED FOR HIS EDUCATION

TO THE

PIOUS MUNIFICENCE

OF

HENRY THE SIXTH.

15/41 - 12 1 COLUMN TO SECURE WE WINDOWS THE TAXABLE PARTY. atternoon and a

#### ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE

#### OCTAVO EDITION.

MANY Persons having expressed a desire to purchase the Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole separately from the Correspondence, this Edition is presented to the Public, without Augmentation or Abridgment.

The References to the interesting and important Collection of Papers are retained in this Impression, because the Authenticity of the Work depends principally on their Authority.

# MALINE DESTRUCTOR

#### PREFACE

TO THE

#### QUARTO EDITION.

It is unnecessary to offer an apology for submitting to the Public, Memoirs of Sir ROBERT WALPOLE, which embrace a period so important in the annals of this country. It will be sufficient to explain the motives which induced me to undertake this Work; to announce the plan; to state the authorities from which the materials are derived; and to acknowledge obligations.

Nine years have elapsed since I undertook to write The Historical and Political State of Europe; the plan of which was printed, and submitted to the public. In the prosecution of that work I obtained access to various collections of original papers, particularly those of the earls of Hardwicke, Harrington, and Peterborough, and of Sir Benjamin Keene. It was in such forwardness, that the histories of Spain, Portugal, Austria, the German constitution, Russia, and part of Prussia and Sweden, were already prepared for the press; I

had also sketched the histories of the Italian States, Holland, and France, and several maps were finished. Finding it impossible to obtain in England sufficient information respecting foreign countries, I visited Germany in 1794, with a view to obtain an accurate knowledge of recent events.

On my return, I went to Wolterton, for the purpose of inspecting the papers of Horatio lord Walpole, father of the present lord Walpole, whose interesting correspondence, during his embassies in France and Holland, were of the utmost importance to my undertaking. I employed several months in perusing and arranging these papers. In the course of this occupation, I traced motives of action unknown to historians, which placed in a new light the foreign and domestic transactions of the cabinet. I also derived, from the conversation of lord and lady Walpole, many facts and anecdotes which elucidated the events adverted to in the papers.

The progress of the French revolution, and the uncertain position of Europe compelled me, not-withstanding the expence and loss of time and labour, to suspend my original design, and to defer the completion of *The historical and political State*, till the return of more quiet and favourable times.

With the fanction of lord Walpole, I proposed, therefore, to give to the public a selection of his father's papers. In the course of this undertaking, I met with several letters and papers of Sir Robert Walpole, which made me solicitous to ob-

tain farther information concerning his character and administration.

On my arrival in London, I had frequent conversations with the late earl of Orford, who related many anecdotes of his father, which led to further inquiries. It now insensibly became a part of my plan, to blend in the narrative as many particulars relating to Sir Robert Walpole as could be authenticated, and to insert, in the correspondence, as many of his letters as I could obtain.

This defign was promoted by the kindness of lord Orford, who imparted to me all his father's papers which remained in his possession, and permitted me to use them at my discretion, without the smallest controul.

The connection and friendship which, for a long period, had subsisted between Sir Robert Walpole, and his brother-in-law Charles viscount Townshend, naturally suggested that the Townshend papers must afford considerable information.

The acquisition of these important documents, led to the discovery and communication of others, particularly in the *Hardwicke*, *Grantham*, *Waldegrave*, and *Poyntz* collections.

With these sources of information, the work gradually expanded, and Sir Robert Walpole from being a secondary, became the principal object. I therefore interrupted the impression of lord Walpole's correspondence, and postponed that publication. I determined to give to the world—The Memoirs of the Life and Administration of Sir Robert Walpole, drawn from these co-

pious and original fources, and to illustrate, by interesting and authentic documents, the transactions of the bufy and eventful period, in which that minister acted so conspicuous a part.

In the execution of this extensive plan, I found myself under the necessity of discussing the interests of Great Britain and of Europe, of developing the intricacies of cabinets, of tracing motives of action, of delineating characters, and discriminating the views of discordant politics.

Anxious to avoid an error, too common with biographers, of confidering only one fide of the question, I was no less folicitous to procure the papers of those who opposed, than of those who supported the measures of Sir Robert Walpole. With this view I obtained communications of the Stanhope, Midleton, Melcombe, and Egremont Papers. These I have printed with out interpolation and without difguife, not omitting a fingle invective, but leaving the reader to judge between the partial eulogiums of Hervey, and the acrimomous reproaches of Bolingbroke.

The Plan of this work is to give an uninterrupted narrative of the life and administration of Sir Robert Walpole, illustrated by original correspondence and authentic papers.

The Memoirs, which are contained in the first volume, are divided into eight periods, comprehending a term of fixty-nine years, from his birth

in 1676, to his death in 1745.

The correspondence, which occupies the second

and

and third volumes, is, for facility of reference, also divided into eight periods, applying to the subjects of the corresponding periods in the narrative.

The Authorities from which the materials are derived, may be divided into PRINTED, ORAL, and MANUSCRIPT information.

#### PRINTED INFORMATION.

Though this fource of intelligence is open to every writer, and an omission to consult and compare the advocates on both fides of the question, indicates either negligence or want of candour, yet Smollett and Belsham, in their accounts of the times, have betrayed these faults in the highest degree. Dazzled by the eloquence of Pulteney, feduced by the fophiftry of Bolingbroke, or deluded by the speciousness of Chesterfield, they appear to have formed their opinions without comparison, to have stigmatized the whole administration of Sir Robert Walpole, as an uniform mass of corruption and depravity, as a gloomy period, during which not a fingle ray of light gleams through the impenetrable darkness. Though I have occasionally noticed the misrepresentations of these writers, yet, as Smollett quotes no authorities, and appears never to have confulted the Journals, and either partially or superficially to have perused the parliamentary debates; and as Belsham is, in general, a mere copyist of Smollett as to facts, though he differs from him in speculations; I have not relied on either as an authority.

The history of England which I have principally confulted, is the continuation of Rapin, published under the name of Tindal, but principally written by Dr. Birch. His papers in the Museum, and in the Hardwicke Collection, which I have examined with fcrupulous attention, and various other documents submitted to his inspection, to which I have had access, prove great accuracy of refearch, judgment in felection, and fidelity in narration. He derived confiderable affiftance from persons of political eminence, particularly the late lord Walpole, the late earl of Hardwicke, and the honourable Charles Yorke. \* Birch was a ftaunch Whig, but his political opinions have never led him to forget his duty as an historian. He has not garbled or falsified debates, or mistated facts, he has not wantonly traduced characters, or acrimoniously reviled individuals, because they espoused the cause which he disapproved; but in his whole work, whether he praises or blames, there is a manly integrity and candid temperance, which must recommend him to the discerning reader.

It naturally became a part of my task to confult all works which treat of the life and administration

<sup>\*</sup> The account of the partition treaty was written by the late earl of Handwicke. The account of lord Somers's argument in the Banker's cole, was written by his great nephew, the late Mr. C. Yorke. I can have numerous communications by Horace Walpole, though they can not us to early specified.

niftration of Sir Robert Walpole; and it is remarkable, that except political pamphlets, which were confined to temporary and specific objects, my utmost research could only discover two publications.

The first is, "A critical History of the Admi" nistration of Sir Robert Walpole, now Earl of
" Orford, collected chiefly from the Debates in
" Parliament, and the political Writings on both
" Sides, 1743." This anonymous work is contemptible both in matter and style. It is, with
few exceptions, a mere compilation from the most
virulent opposition pamphlets, but is useful as an
index of the points which, at the time, drew most
attention, and as containing an account of the
most remarkable publications of parties on both
sides.

The fecond is, "Histoire du Ministère du Che"valier Walpool devenu Ministre d'Angleterre,
"et Comte d'Oxford, Amsterdam, 1764, in three
"volumes." This work is principally compiled
from the preceding publication, although the
author affects greater impartiality, and frequently
turns the most virulent censures into the most
fulsome panegyric. The writer is so ignorant as
to call him earl of Oxford, and so deficient in
point of information, that the whole period
from the declaration of war against Spain in 1739,
to the resignation of the minister in 1742, is
contained in fourteen lines. From sources so
partial and desicient, little information could be
derived.

I have carefully confulted the political writings of the times, on both fides of the question. I have perused with some attention the most violent invectives, and party statements against the minister, as well as those that were written in his favour, and from a scrupulous comparison of both have endeavoured to extract the truth.

These works are too numerous to recapitulate. To the political writings of Bolingbroke, Pultaney, and Chestersield, I have paid peculiar attention, and scrutinized them with a close, and, I

truft, an impartial inspection.

The "Craftsman," which commenced in 1727, was the great vehicle of opposition essays. This paper, as it always contained the strength of the arguments urged against the measures of government, detailed with great eloquence and wit, has been assiduously examined. The Political State of Great Britain, the Historical Register, and Annals of Europe, (ample and not incorrect periodical publications,) have contributed information with respect to domestic events, points of chronology, and debates in parliament.

I have derived collateral affiftance from the Gentleman's and London Magazines, which were

ably conducted.

I have occasionally collected the substance of debates from Chandler's Parliamentary Proceedings, to the general accuracy of which, though recently called in question, several reasons have induced me to give credit.

1. They are taken from the contemporary papers, such as the Historical Register, and the Political State of Great Britain; the authors of which were frequently supplied with notes and memoradums by members of parliament. From the year 1735, when the debates were no longer published in the Political State, the speeches were given in the Gentleman's Magazine by Guthrie, and in the London Magazine by Gordon, both of whom constantly attended in the gallery of the house, and received information from members of parliament.

2. There are among the Walpole and Orford papers minutes of Sir Robert Walpole's speeches, and occasional notes, taken by him in the house of commons, of those of other members. In comparing these minutes and notes with the speeches in Chandler, I generally find the leading expressions preserved in the debates; which proves the authenticity of those particular speeches, and furnishes a strong presumption in favour of the rest.

3. Several letters, which I have published in the Correspondence, contain brief accounts of the parliamentary proceedings, and in most instances accord with the printed debates.

4. Sir Robert Walpole told his fon, the late earl of Orford, that his speeches were in general

faithfully represented in the public prints.

5. Lord Bath affured the present bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Douglas, that most of his speeches were correctly given, yet better than he had delivered them.

From

From the 19th of November, 1740, many of the debates were written by Dr. Johnson, and published in the Gentleman's Magazine. Doubts have arisen concerning their authenticity. Some of Johnson's biographers have declared that they were partly composed by himself; another, Sir John Hawkins, that they were wholly sictitious; and Johnson himself is said to have confessed, that they were not authentic, and excepting their general import, were the work of his own imagination.

This account, however, is not perfectly confonant to fact. Either Johnson deceived himself into an exaggeration of his own powers, or his biographers mistook his affertion. The real truth is, that Johnson constantly received notes and heads of the speeches from persons employed by Cave, and particularly from Guthrie. The bishop of Salisbury recollects to have seen several of these notes, which Guthrie communicated to him on the very day on which he obtained them, which were regularly transmitted to Johnson, and formed the basis of his orations.

#### ORAL AND MANUSCRIPT INFORMATION,

#### WALPOLE PAPERS.

My first and warmest acknowledgments are due to lord Walpole, for the papers of his father Horatio, the first lord Walpole of Wolterton, brother of Sir Robert Walpole, and embaffador in France and Holland. This collection has afforded the most ample materials: It contains his original correspondence, both public and private, as well abroad as in England; many confidential letters which passed between him, the queen, and Sir Robert Walpole; various documents, memorials, and political differtations, which afford the clearest insight into foreign affairs, and prove his active and indefatigable exertions.

A specific detail of this collection, which occupies no less than one hundred and forty solio volumes, must be referred to a future publication, in which I purpose to give a selection of the most interesting letters not inserted in this work.

I am also indebted to dord Walpole for many interesting anecdotes and explanations, which he had from his father.

#### ORFORD PAPERS.

The late earl of Orford, third fon of Sir Robert Walpole, favoured me with access to all the papers of his father remaining in his possession.

Had this collection been preserved entire, it would have been invaluable and unparalleled, both for extent and importance, but some have been destroyed, others dispersed, and many lost. When he retired from office, the minister destroyed a large quantity. Not long before his death he said to his son, "Horace, when I am gone, you will find many curious papers in the drawer of this table," and mentioned, among others, the memorial which

had been drawn up by Bolingbroke, and presented by the duchess of Kendal to the king. When his son, some time after his death, inspected the drawer, the papers were lost, and were never afterwards recovered. In relating this anecdote, the late earl of Orford declared his opinion that the papers had been either inadvertently destroyed by his elder brother, or stolen by a steward. Several letters belonging to this collection were given to the late lord Walpole, and are preserved at Wolterton, Notwithstanding these desalcations, the collection still contains many documents of high importance, of which I have availed myself.

To lord Orford I am highly indebted for numerous facts and anecdotes relating to Sir Robert Walpole, which nobody but himself could have authenticated. In gratefully acknowledging these favours, I feel it my duty to pay a just tribute to his candour. He repeatedly faid, "You will remember that I am the fon of Sir Robert Walpole, and therefore must be prejudiced in his favour. Facts I will not misrepresent or disguise, but my opinions and reflections on those facts you will receive with caution, and adopt or reject at your discretion." Although he testified a natural folicitude to fee the memoirs of his father, yet he not unfrequently expressed his wishes that the work might not appear while he was alive, left it might be thought that from motives of delicacy, I had not delivered my fentiments with freedom.

#### Townshend Papers.

I am obliged to the marquis Townshend for access to the papers of his grandfather Charles, the second viscount Townshend, who was plenipotentiary at Gertruydenburg and at the Hague, and principal secretary of state. Lord Townshend's masterly letters to George the First; the notes between George the Second and him; the considential intercourse which he regularly maintained with his brother-in-law, Sir Robert Walpole, while he was at Hanover; have materially contributed to illustrate those transactions in which the brother ministers had a principal share.

#### HARDWICKE PAPERS.

To my noble friend the earl of Hardwicke, I gratefully acknowledge my obligations for the use of his collection. From it I have been supplied with various papers, memorandums, and narratives of his grandfather, the lord chancellor, and of the late earl of Hardwicke; letters from the duke of Newcastle; the considential correspondence between Sir Robert Walpole and lord Townshend, and the papers of Sir Luke Schaub, together with other documents of importance.

#### SYDNEY PAPERS.

I am indebted to lord Sydney for the communication of letters which belonged to his father, the honourable Thomas Townshend, second son of Charles viscount Townshend, and the confidential friend of Sir Robert Walpole. The kindness of lord Sydney, and his brother, Charles Townshend, Esquire, has also supplied many anecdotes derived from the conversation of their father.

#### WALDEGRAVE PAPERS.

To the Countess of Waldegrave, I am obliged for submitting to my inspection the dispatches of her grandfather James, first earl of Waldegrave, during his embassies at Vienna and Paris, from 1727 to 1740. Among other points of secret history, they detail many interesting conversations with Cardinal Fleury, and with Chauvelin, keeper of the seals. They contain also various letters to and from Sir Robert Walpole, of the most private and considential nature, which are printed in the Correspondence.

In addition to these, I have to enumerate other communications made in the most liberal and obliging manner, and to offer my grateful acknowledgments.

#### HARRINGTON PAPERS.

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To the earl of Harrington, for the correspondence of his grandfather William Stanhope, first earl of Harrington, who was envoy and embassador at Madrid, plenipotentiary at the congress of Soissons, and secretary of state. Also for some papers of Charles Stanhope, elder brother of the

first

first earl of Harrington, who was private and confidential secretary to earl Stanhope, and secretary to the treasury under the earl of Sunderland. This collection supplied me with many interesting letters, which relate to the schism in the administration in 1716, and a confidential correspondence between Newcastle and Harrington, previous to the dismission of lord Townshend.

#### GRANTHAM PAPERS.

To lady Grantham, for the papers of Sir Thomas Robinson, first lord Grantham, who was considential secretary to lord Walpole, during his embassy in France, and envoy and plenipotentiary at Vienna. These documents comprise an interesting account of the negotiations and transactions between Great Britain and the house of Austria, during a period of eighteen years.

#### POYNTZ PAPERS.

To Stephen Poyntz, Esquire, for various communications from the papers of his father Stephen Poyntz, Esquire, confidential secretary of lord Townshend, envoy to the court of Sweden, and one of the plenipotentiaries at the congress of Soissons.

#### KEENE PAPERS.

To Benjamin Keene, Esquire, for the papers of his uncle Sir Benjamin Keene, so long, and with such distinguished eminence, envoy and embassador at Madrid.

#### CAMPBELL PAPERS.

To Archibald Campbell, Esquire, for the papers of his grandfather, Archibald earl of Ilay, and duke of Argyle; in which I had the good fortune to find several original letters of Sir Robert Walpole.

#### DEVONSHIRE PAPERS.

To the late worthy and much regretted lord John Cavendish, for several interesting letters, in the possession of the duke of Devonshire, written by Sir Robert Walpole, the marquis of Hartington, and Sir Robert Wilmot, to William duke of Devonshire, lord lieutenant of Ireland, a short time previous to the resignation of Sir Robert Walpole.

#### ETOUGH PAPERS.

To John Plumptre, Esquire, for the papers of the Rev. Henry Etough, rector of Therfield, Hertfordshire. These papers form a valuable mass of intelligence. They contain sketches of the reigns of William, Anne, George the First and Second; numerous accounts of Sir Robert Walpole, which he obtained in conversation, either from the minister himself or Horace Walpole, the minutes of which, in various instances, he noted down. They comprise much information derived from Mr. Scrope, secretary to the treasury, and other perfons whose authorities he constantly cites; and a long and interesting correspondence with Horace Walpole. Etough was a man of great research

and eager curiofity, replete with prejudice, but idolizing Sir Robert Walpole. In the examination of these ample documents, I have only adopted such parts as were in my judgment entitled to full credit.

The following are the principal articles in this collection, of which I have availed myfelf: " A Miscellany, being Minutes of several Conversations while Sir Robert Walpole, and when Lord Orford, on feveral Subjects, from 1734 to 1744, with fome Particulars relating to his latest Transactions.—" Minutes of a Conversation with Sir Robert Walpole, on the Attempt of Lord Bolingbroke and the Duchess of Kendal, to obtain his Dismission in 1727." Printed in the Correfpondence. -- "An imperfect Effay on the Character and Behaviour of the late Earl of Orford, addressed to the right honourable Horatio Walpole, Esquire."-" Minutes of two Conferences with Horatio Walpole at Putney, August 6th and 20th, 1752." -- Minutes of a Conversation with the right honourable Horace Walpole, Efquire, November 3, 1755."——" Observations on the Elections in 1734 and 41, relative to lord Orford."-" Minutes of a Conversation with Mr. Scrope, fecretary to the Treasury, relating to the Arrangement of the new Ministry on the Accession of George the Second." Printed in the Correspondence.

#### WESTON PAPERS.

To the Rev. Charles Weston, prebendary of Durham, for communications from the papers of his father, Edward Weston, Esquire, under secretary of state; containing, among other interesting particulars, letters from Sir Robert Walpole and lord Townshend, on the arrival of the duke of Ripperda in England, and a manly remonstrance of lord Townshend to the king, disfuading the journey to Hanover; which the reader will find in the Correspondence.

#### ONSLOW PAPERS.

To lord Onflow, for fome very interesting remarks of speaker Onslow, on various parts of Sir Robert Walpole's conduct, with anecdotes of the principal leaders of opposition. Printed in the Correspondence.

#### ASTLE PAPERS.

To Thomas Aftle, Esquire, keeper of the records at the Tower, for various communications from his private collection of manuscripts, particularly, correspondence of the earl of Clarendon, during his mission at Hanover, and letters from secretary St. John to Drummond; which are printed in the Correspondence.

#### STANHOPE PAPERS.

The schism in the Whig administration divided Walpole and Stanhope, and converted their

long established friendship into bitter enmity. As the character of James, first earl of Stanhope, was severely arraigned by Townshend and Walpole, candour impelled me to apply to his representative, the present earl, for any documents in his possession, which might tend to vindicate the memory of his ancestor from those aspersions. This request was acceded to in the most liberal manner, and those papers have materially tended to elucidate the transactions of that period,

#### MIDLETON PAPERS.

I am indebted to lord Midleton for the papers of his grandfather, the chancellor of Ireland, which develope the history of Wood's patent, and comprise several letters from his brother Thomas Brodrick, chairman of the committee of secrecy in the South Sea inquiry, and of his son Saint John Brodrick; most of these are replete with the severest sarcasms and invectives against the minister,

#### EGREMONT PAPERS.

To the earl of Egremont, for the letters of lord Bolingbroke to his grandfather Sir William Wyndham, remarkable for that animation, elegance of style, plausibility of argument, and virulence of invective, which distinguish his writings. They contain the most severe animadversions on the conduct and principles of Sir Robert Walpole, and are filled with the most bitter reproaches against his measures: I have thought

it my duty not to suppress a single pagragraph which reflected on the administration of the minister.

#### PULTENEY PAPERS.

To Sir William Pulteney, for the papers of his wife's father David Pulteney, commissioner of the board of trade, and lord of the admiralty, who became the strenuous opponent of Sir Robert Walpole, and wrote against him with great severity in the "Craftsman."

#### MELCOMBE PAPERS.

To Henry Penruddocke Wyndham, Esquire, for the Papers of George Dodington, Lord Melcombe, from which I have selected several private letters, animadverting, with much acrimony, on the conduct and system of Sir Robert Walpole, extolling the principles and directing the views of that opposition which drove him from the helm.

To Dr. Douglas, bishop of Salisbury, I am indebted for several interesting particulars, derived from daily conversations, during an intimate intercouse of many years with his friend and patron the earl of Bath. While I gratefully acknowledge my obligations to this learned and highlyrespected prelate, for much valuable information during the progress of this work, I feel extraordinary gratification in respecting that the Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole have derived asfistance fistance from the friend of his great opponent, William Pulteney,

Governor Pownall claims my grateful acknowledgments for the communication of a very ingenious and able effay on the conduct and principles of Sir Robert Walpole, which places the minifter in a new point of view. It is inferted in the Correspondence.

With the affiftance of these extensive sources of information, I have been enabled to elucidate many parts of secret history, either totally unknown, or wholly misrepresented, and to trace the motives of action which influenced the conduct of the minister, and directed the views of the British cabinet.

I have not been biaffed by the prejudices of party hatred or party affection. I have always confidered the connections and principles of the persons from whom I derived political information, and after duly weighing all the circumstances, have equally avoided the extremes on either side.

It has naturally been my principal object to trace and discuss those events, which personally relate to Sir Robert Walpole, either in his public or private character, and in which he was either directly or eventually concerned. In the course of my inquiries, and in the perusal of the numerous documents to which I have had access, I obtained information of various collateral circumstances, and of numerous characters, which though

they did not immediately attach to the life of the minister, yet were connected with the transactions which he either influenced or directed. Hence I have been led to make occasional digressions, in order to elucidate interesting but obtcure points of history. I have also introduced biographical memoirs of eminent persons, who were either the opposers or favourers of the minister, whose characters the papers and documents in my possession have enabled me to illustrate.

Fully aware of the uncertainty of tradition, I have been extremely cautious to confine myself to the narrowest limits. I have never once adopted the hearsay of a hearsay, and have paid no attention to any anecdotes or facts except from those who derived their information from persons of veracity, that were themselves engaged in the transactions of the times, and who authenticated their narratives.

I have, in general, quoted my authorities, and though in some instances I have omitted to enumerate them, that I might avoid the appearance of affectation, yet I can fasely aver, that I have not advanced a single fast in the whole work, of the truth of which I have not been convinced by the most unexceptionable evidence.

In a few inftances I have collected the fubftance of the minister's speeches from parliamentary minutes in his own hand writing. From these memorandums I have particularly drawn his speeches against the peerage bill, on proposing the excise scheme, in opposing Sir John Barnard's plan for the reduction of interest, and in reply to the motion made by Sandys to remove him.

I have fcrupulously avoided all allusions to the transactions which are now passing before us, lest I might have been tempted to make my work the vehicle of panegyric or invective, and have fallen into an error not uncommon with speculative writers, who judge of remote facts by recent circumstances, and affectedly assimilate the events of past ages with the transactions of the present day.

I cannot close this Preface without paying a just tribute of gratitude to my ingenious friend Mr. Adolphus, for the advantages which I have derived from his literary affistance in preparing these Memoirs for the press.

March 10, 1798.

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### MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

### CONTENTS OF VOLUME THE FIRST.

PREFACE

Vii

#### PERIOD THE FIRST:

From his Birth, to the Accession of GEORGE
the First:

# 1676-1714.

CHAP. 1. Family.—Birth.—Talents.—Education.—Country Purfuits .- Marriage .- Paternal Estate - - Page 1 CHAP. 2. Elected Member of Parliament. -- Sketch of the important Transactions during the Two last Parliaments of King William .-Act of Settlement in favour of the Protestant Succession and Family. -Principles and Conduct of the Leaders at the Revolution .- Ineffectual Endeavour of William to extend the Act of Settlement in favour of the Hanover Line, virtually introduced by the Act for disabling Papists .- Artful Management of William to procure the Extension of that Act on the Death of the Duke of Gloucester 10 CHAP. 3. Walpole foon becomes an active Member of Parliament .-Is upon various Committees, and Teller on several important Questions .- Supports the Whigs .- Seconds the Motion for extending the Oath of Abjuration to ecclefiaftical Persons .- Death and Character of King William CHAP. 4. Accession of Anne.-Walpole makes a Motion in Oppo-

fition to Sir Edward Seymour.—Diffinguishes himself in the Proceedings on the Aylesbury Election.—Noticed by Earl Godolphin, and

the Duke of Marlborough,—Appointed one of the Seven Council to the Lord High Admiral.—Secretary at War, and Treasurer to the Navy.—Nominated one of the Managers for the House of Commons, upon the Prosecution of Sacheverel.—His Speech, and Publication on that Occasion

CHAP. 5. Intrigues and Cabals which occasioned the Removal of the Whig Administration.—Walpole holds a considential Correspondence with the Duke of Marlborough, Lord Townshend, and Horace Walpole.—Rejects the Offers and despites the Threats of Harley.—Refuses to take a Part in the new Administration - 43

CHAP. 6. Conduct of Walpole in Opposition.—Ably defends the late Administration against the Charge of not accounting for the public Expenditure.—Accused of Breach of Trust and Corruption when Secretary at War.—Committed to the Tower.—Expelled the House, and incapacitated from sitting in the present Parliament.—Visited by Persons of the first Distinction and Abilities.—Writes an able Desence of himself

CHAP. 7. Released from his Imprisonment.—Exertions in favour of his Party.—Publishes various political Pieces.—Eulogium of him, by Godolphin.—Publishes the History of the late Parliament.—Re-elected for Lynn.—Speaks against the Peace; the Treaty of Commerce; and the Schism Bill:—In favour of Sir Richard Steele, for printing the Crisis and the Englishman

CHAP. 8. Zeal of Walpole for the Hanover Succession.—Justification of his Conduct, on the Presumption that the Protestant Succession was in Danger.—Public Alarms and Apprehensions.—

Death of Queen Anne.

a read to be advertised of factors of

#### PERIOD THE SECOND:

From the Accession of George the First, to the Commencement of the South Sea Scheme.

### 1714-1720

- - - W 40 TA 50 NO

CHAP. 9. General State of the European Powers at the Death of Queen Anne, with respect to their Inclination or Capacity to promote or obstruct the Accession of George the First.—State of Great Britain.—Character of George the First—not calculated to promote his Cattle

CHAP. 10. Proceedings in Parliament on the Death of Queen Anne.

—Accession of George the First.—Transactions at Hanover.—Attful Policy of the King, in his Conduct to the Two Parties.—His Arrival in England.—Fermation of a Whig Ministry.—Walpole Paymaster of the Forces.—Inveteracy of Parties

CHAP. 11.

- CHAP. 11. Rife and Character of Lord Townshend.—Intimacy with Walpole.—Meeting of the new Parliament.—Walpole takes the Lead.—Draws up the Report of the Secret Committee.—Manages the Impeachment of Bolingbroke—Ormond and Oxford.—Motives for that Conduct.—Rebelion.—His Activity and Services.—Appointed First Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer.—Proceedings in Parliament.—Trial and Execution of the Rebels
- CHAP. 12. Illness of Walpole.—Recovery.—Septennial Bill.—Impatience of the King to visit Hanover.—Repeal of the restraining Clause in the Act of Settlement.—Misunderstanding between the King and the Prince of Wales, who is appointed Guardian of the Realm.—Departure of the King for Hanover
- CHAP. 13. State and Difunion of the Ministry.—Cabals of Sunderland.—Intrigues and Venality of the Hanoverian Junto 135 CHAP. 14. Acquistion of Bremen and Verden.—Alliance with
- CHAP. 15. Situation of Affairs at Home.—Conduct of the Prince of Wales.—Precarious and perplexed Situation of Townshend and Walpole.—Departure of Sunderland.—Causes of the King's Displeasure against Townshend and Walpole.—Their Opposition to his continental Politics.—Walpole's Resistance to the Payment of the German Troops.—Intrigues and Arrogance of the Hanoverian Ministers.—Sunderland arrives at Hanover.—Cabals with the German Junto.—Gains Stanhope.—Prevails on the King to dismiss Townshend
- CHAP. 16. Discontents in England and Holland at the Disgrace of Townshend.—Sunderland and Stanhope, and the Hanoverians, are alarmed.—Apologize for their Conduct.—The King prevails upon him to accept the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland.—Motives for his Conduct.—Townshend and Walpole coldly support Government.—Sunderland increases his Party.—Townshend disniffed from the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland.—Walpole proposes and carries his Scheme for reducing the Interest of the National Debt.—Refigns.—Many of the leading Whigs follow his Example.—Weakness of the new Administration.
- CHAP. 17. Walpole proposes his Plan for reducing the Interest of the National Debt.—His Resignation excites warm Debates.—Astercation with Stanhope.—Remarks on the baneful Spirit of a systematic Opposition to all the Measures of Government.—Walpole not exempted from that Censure.—His uniform Opposition, and Influence in the House of Commons
- CHAP. 18. Origin and Progress of the Peerage Bill.—Opposition and Speech of Walpole.—Bill rejected

maky all and the party of

#### PERIOD THE THIRD:

From the South Sea Act, to the Death of GEORGE the First.

### 1720-1727.

CHAP. 19. Origin and Progress of the South Sea Company.—Their Project for liquidating the National Debt.—Espoused by the Ministry.—Opposed by Walpole.—Accepted by Parliament.—Walpole reconciles the King and the Prince of Wales.—Forms a Coalition with Sunderland.—Townshend appointed President of the Council.—Walpole Paymaster of the Forces.—Retires into the Country

CHAP. 20. Departure of the King for Hanover.—Rife and Fall of the South Sea Stock.—National Infatuation and Despair.—Walpole's Endeavours to restore the Credit of the Company.—The King returns from Hanover.—Alarming State of Affairs.—Embarrassment of the Ministry.—Despondency of the King.—Walpole's Plan for the Restoration of Public Credit.—Discussed

CHAP. 21. Public Indignation against the Directors.—Proceedings in Parliament.—Report of the Committee of Secrecy.—Rigorous Treatment of the Directors.—Bill of Pains and Penalties.—Moderation of Walpole.—Defends Charles Stanhope.—Saves Sunderlands.—Promotes the Bill for reftoring Public Credit.—Advantages finally derived from the South Sea Scheme.—Arrears of the Civil List paid.—Controversy concerning the Bank Contract — 255

CHAP. 22. Townshend appointed Secretary of State on the Death of Earl Stanhope, and Walpole First Lord of the Treasury, on the Refignation of Sunderland.—Supports the Swedish Subsidy.—Affairs of Sweden to the Peace of Nystadt.—Domestic Transactions.—Commercial Regulations.—Abolition of various Duties.—Importation of Naval Stores encouraged.—Advancement of national Industry.—Dean Tucker's Eulogium of Walpole

CHAP. 23. Meeting of the new Parliament.—Atterbury's Plot.—
Memoirs.—Bill of Pains and Penalties.—Conduct in Exile.—
Death.—Tax on the Estates of Roman Catholics, and Non-jurors 289

CHAP. 24. Walpole's Son made a Peer.—Character, Views, and Intrigues of Carteret.—Struggle in the Cabinet for Pre-eminence,—Contest for continuing or removing Sir Luke Schaub.—Mission of Horace Walpole to Paris.—Death of the Duke of Orleans.—Successful Efforts of Townshend and Walpole.—Schaub recalled, Horace Walpole nominated Embassador. Change in the Ministry; Carteret appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.—Unanimity in Parliament.—Walpole made Knight of the Bath and Garter - 306

CHAR. 25. Anecdotes of Henry St. John Viscount Bolingbroke.— Disagreement between him and Oxford.—His Schemes in savour of the Pretender.—Difgraced on the Accession of George the First.—Flies.—Joins the Pretender.—Appointed his Secretary of State.—Removed.—Causes of his Dismission.—Makes Overtures to the British Cabinet.—Reseives a Promise of being restored.—Writes his Letter to Sir William Wyndham, under that Supposition.—Censures Ministers.—Makes Overtures to them.—Cabals against them.—Renews his Offers of Attachment to them.—Conduct of Walpole in his Favour.—Bolingbroke receives his Pardon in Blood.—His Overtures to the Walpoles.—Act of Parliament in his Favour.—Motives for Walpole's Conduct.—Bolingbroke joins Opposition.—Remarks on his Conduct and Writings — Page 342

CHAP. 26. Disturbances in Ireland, occasioned by Wood's Patent.

—Public and secret History of that Transaction.—Character of Lord Midleton.—His Disagreement with the Duke of Grafton.—Indiscreet Proceedings of Government.—Embarrassiments and Conduct of Walpole.—Duke of Grafton recalled, and Lord Carteret appointed Lord Lieutenant.—Resignation of Lord Midleton.—Surrender of the Patent.—Tranquillity restored.—Tumults in Scotland, on levying the Malt Tax.—Prudent Conduct of Walpole.—Character and Services of the Earl of Ilay

CHAP. 27. Diffolution of the Congress of Cambray.—Origin and Progress of the Union between the Emperor and Spain.—Treaty of Vienna.—Affairs of the North.—Alarms and Conduct of England.

—Application to Parliament

CHAP. 28. Conclusion and Object of the Treaty of Hanover.—Objections of Walpole.—Removed.—Observations on the secret Articles in the Treaty of Vienna 428

CHAP. 29. The King's dangerous Passage to England.—The Treaty of Hanover approved by Parliament, and vigorous Measures adopted.—Public Indignation against the Emperor.—Walpole's pacific Views.—Preliminaries agreed to by the Emperor—and Spain.

—The King departs for Hanover

CHAP. 30. Cabals of the Duchels of Kendal and Bolingbroke to remove Walpole.—Bolingbroke's Interview with the King.—Sanguine Hopes of Oppolition.—Death of the King.—Memoirs of his Wife, the unfortunate Sophia of Zell

# CONTENTS OF VOLUME THE SECOND.

# PERIOD THE FOURTH:

From the Accession of George the Second, to the Resignation of Lord Townshend.

#### 1727-1730.

CHAP. 31. Accession and Character of George the Second.—Education—Character—Person—Conduct—and Influence of Queen Caroline.—Account of Mrs. Howard, afterwards Counters of Suffolk Page 1

CHAP. 32. Rumours of a Change in Administration.—Intrigues of the Tories, Pulteney, and Bolingbroke.—Character of Sir Spencer Compton, who declines the Office of prime Minister.—Continuation of Townshend and Walpole, by the Intervention of Queen Caroline. The good Effects of her Influence over the King - 21 Chap. 33. Walpole obtains an Increase of the Civil Lift, and a

CHAP 33. Walpole obtains an Increase of the Civil Lift, and a Jointure of £.100,000 for Queen Caroline.—Meeting and Proceedings of the new Parliament.—State of the Opposition.—Important Discussion on the State of the Sinking Fund and National Debt.—Report of the House of Commons on that Subject.—The King refuses to make Charles Stanhope a Lord of the Admiralty.—Foreign Affairs.—Transactions with Spain and the Emperor.—Alliance with Brunswick.—Act of the Pardo.—Congress of Soissons.—Treaty of Seville

CHAP. 34. Debates in Parliament on a supposed Promise of George the First to restore Gibraltar to Spain.—Mistakes generally entermined on that Subject.—True State of Facts.—Conduct of the Regent.—Of the King and Queen of Spain, and its Consequences 62

CHAP. 35. Rife, Difgrace, Imprisonment, Escape, and Arrival of Apperda in England.—Reception and Conferences with the Minners.—Diffatisfaction and Departure.—Enters into the Service of the Emperor of Morocco

CHAP. 36. Sanguine Hopes of Opposition that Walpole would be removed.—Their Efforts in Parliament.—Debates on the Imperial Loan—on the Pension Bill—on Dunkirk—and the Renewal of the East India Company's Charter.—Arrangement of the Ministry on

PERIOD

the Refignation of Lord Townshend.—Characters of the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Harrington - Page 91

CHAP. 37. Origin and Progress of the Disagreement between Townshend and Walpole.—Refignation—Retreat and Death of Townshend

# PERIOD THE FIFTH:

From the Refignation of Lord Townshend, to the Diffolution of the Parliament.

### 1730-1734.

CHAP. 38. Walpole inclines to a Reconciliation with the Emperor. -Negotiations which preceded and terminated in the Treaty of Vienna - Treaty of Seville carried into Execution. - Transactions in Parliament .- Genera ISatisfaction .- Character of Earl Waldegrave, the new Embassador at Paris CHAP. 39. Biographical Memoirs of William Pulteney.—Origin and Progress of his Misunderstanding with Walpole - -CHAP. 40. Walpole proposes to take Half a Million from the Sinking Fund, for the Service of the current Year .- Encroachments from its first Establishment to this Motion .- Opposition to the Bill .- Substance of the Reasons on both Sides .- It passes the House. -Subsequent Encroachments .- Beneficial Consequences which would have been derived from appropriating the Produce to the Liquidation of the Debt .- Ill Confequences of alienating it .- Motives which induced the Minister to take that Method of raising Supplies CHAP. 41. Origin and Progress of the Excise. - Object of Walpole's Scheme,-Arts of Opposition.-Parliamentary Proceedings. -Speech of Walpole.-Bill abandoned .- Views and Conduct of Opposition .- Influence of Walpole .- Removals and Promotions .-Prorogation of Parliament CHAP. 42. Character of Lord Hardwicke.-Parliamentary Proceedings .- Efforts of the Minority in Parliament .- The Excise .- The Removal of the Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham .- The Place Bill .- Motion for the Repeal of Septemial Parliaments .- Sir William Wyndham's Speech .- Walpole's Reply .- Bolingbroke's Retreat to France.-The King's Speech .- Diffolution of Parliament CHAP. 43. View of Foreign Transactions from the Death of Augustus the Second to the Dissolution of Parliament, -Successful Hoftilities of France, Spain, and Sardinia, against the Emperor.-Neutrality of the Dutch .- Causes which induced England to reject the

. Application of the Emperor for Succours

### PERIOD THE SIXTH:

From the Diffolution of Parliament, to the Death of Queen CAROLINE.

### 1734-1737.

CHAP. 44. Successful Operations of the Allies.—Embassy of Horace Walpole to the Hague.—Indignation of the Emperor, and his Attempts to remove Walpole.—Origin, Progress, and Termination of the Secret Convention.—Renewal of Hostilities.—Fluctuating State of the British Cabinet.—Embarrassments and Firmness of Walpole.

Page 305

CHAP. 45. Event of the general Elections.—Meeting of the new Parliament.—Proceedings.—Prorogation.—Difference between Spain and Portugal—adjusted by the armed Mediation of England.—Progress of Hostilities between the Allies and the Emperor.—Detail of the various Negotiations which led to the Conclusion of the Preliminaries.—King's Speech.—Unanimity of Parliament, in regard to Foreign Affairs

Char. 46. Parliamentary Proceedings.—Gin Act.—Motion to repeal the Test Act, negatived.—Bill for the Relief of the Quakers passes the Commons, but is thrown out by the Lords.—Account of Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London.—Prorogation.—Horace Walpole declines the Office of Secretary of State.—Accompanies the King to Hanover, as Vice Secretary.—Foreign Negotiations.—Prudence of Sir Robert Walpole.—Private Correspondence with his Brother.—Objects to guaranty the Provisional Succession to Berg and Juliers.—Opposes the Northern League, and the Mediation between Russia and the Porte.—Promotes the definitive Treaty.—The Delays of the Emperor.—Inessectual Attempt to bribe Chauvelin.—Secret Correspondence with Cardinal Fleury, and Dismission of Chauvelin

CHAP. 47. Meeting of Parliament.—Speech from the Throne.—
Proceedings:—On the Bill respecting the Tumults at Edinburgh—
On Sir John Barnard's Scheme for the Reduction of Interest—Licentiousness of the Stage.—Origin and Progress of the Playhous Bill

CHAP. 48. Origin and Progress of the Misunderstanding between the King and Prince of Wales.—Application to Parliament.—Conduct of Walpole—of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke—of Oppofition

CHAP. 49. Illness-Fortitude-and Death of Queen Caroline.
Virtues.-Grief of the King.-Affliction of Sir Robert Wapole 492

#### CONTENTS OF VOLUME THE THIRD.

#### PERIOD THE SEVENTH:

From the Death of Queen CAROLINE, to the Refignation of Sir ROBERT WALPOLE.

#### 1737-1742.

CHAP. 50. Historical Deduction of the commercial Treaties between Spain and England, relating to America. - Spanish Depredations. -Meeting of Parliament. - Debate on the Reduction of the Army. -Resolution, prohibiting the Publication of Debates - Page : CHAP. 51. Proceedings in Parliament relative to the Spanish Depredations .- Petitions .- Examination of Witnesses .- Case of Jenkins. -Report of the Committee. - Debates thereon. - Firm and temperate Conduct of Walpole.—Resolutions of both Houses CHAP. 52. Difficulties attending the Negotiation with Spain .- Articles of the Convention .- Protest of Spain .- Parliamentary Proceedings .- Debates on the Convention -CHAP. 53. Secession of the Minority.-Consequences.-Beneficial Acts of Parliament .- Danish Subsidy .- Opposition and Anecdotes of John Duke of Argyle .- Vote of Credit .- Termination of the Spanish Negotiation .- Declaration of War .- Conduct of England: -And of Sir Robert Walpole. - Divisions in the Cabinet -CHAP. 54. Meeting of Parliament.—Return of the Seceders.—Efforts of Oppolition.—Embarraffments of Walpole.—Supplies.— Capture of Porto Bello.-Expedition to America.-Altercations in the Cabinet .- Foreign Affairs .- Death of the King of Pruffia-Of the Emperor.—Invation of Silefia CHAP. 55. Meeting of Parliament.—Address.—Views of Oppon-fition.—Motion for the Removal of Sir Robert Walpole, Speech of Sandys .- Conduct of the Tories .- Shippen withdraws - - 150 CHAP. 56. Reply of Sir Robert Walpole -Motion negatived .- Similar Motion in the Lords .- Conduct and Anecdotes of Ship-CHAP. 57. Proceedings of Parliament on the Austrian Subfidy .-Grant of Three hundred thousand Pounds to the Queen of Hungary.—Her Inflexibility—and difastrous Situation -CHAP. 58. Dissolution of Parliament.—State of the Ministry.— Walpole deferted or secretly thwarted by many of his former Friends. Successful Exertions of the Opposition .- Westminster Election. Schism —Schism in the Cabinet.—Neutrality of Hanover.—Supineness of Walpole.—Clamours against him

Page 223
CHAP. 59. Meeting of Parliament.—Complexión of the new House of Commons.—King's Speech.—Walpole permits an Alteration be made in the Address.—Small Majority in Favour of the Bossine Election.—The Appointment of a Chairman of the Committee of Election.—The Appointment of the House.—Ineffectual Attempt to detach the Prince of Wales from the Opposition.—House again as sembles.—Walpole loses the Chippenham Election.—Adjournment of the House of Commons, at the King's Request.—Sir Robert Walpole created Earl of Orford, and refigns.—Affecting Interview with the King.—Regret of his Friends

#### PERIOD THE EIGHTH:

From the Refignation of Sir ROBERT WALPOLE to his Death.

### 1742-1745

Char. 60. Exertions and Influence of Walpole.—Negotiations with Pulteney for the Arrangement of a new Administration.—Jealou-fies and Divisions of Opposition.—Meeting at the Fountain Tavern.
—Interference of the Prince of Wales.—Parliamentary Inquiry into the Condust of the Ex-minister.—Secret Committee.—Indemnity Bill.—Passes the Commons.—Rejected by the Lords.—Pulteney created Earl of Bath.—His Unpopularity.—Accusations against him—Examined and refuted.—Page 249

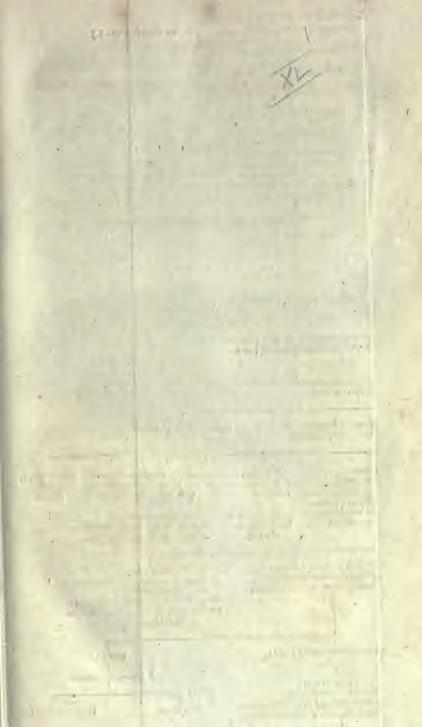
CHAP. 61. Examination of the Report of the Secret Committee.—
Heads of Accusation urged against Sir Robert Walpole.—Undue
Influence in Elections.—Grants of Fraudulent Contracts.—Peculation, and Profusion in the Expenditure of the Money for Secret
Service.—His private Fortune, pecuniary Acquirements, and the
State of his Affairs at his Death

State of his Affairs at his Death

CHAP. 62. Renewal of the parliamentary Attack on Lord Orford—
Defeated.—Confulted by the King.—His Influence in ministerial Arrangements.—Exerts himself for the Continuance of Hanoverian Troops in the British Pay,—His Speech in the House of Lords.—Goes to Houghton.—Returns to London at the King's Request.—Illness.—Death

CHAP. 63. Principles of Walpole's Administration.—Pacific System.—Finance.—Commerce.—Public Character - 327

CHAP. 64. Private Character of Sir Robert Walpole.—Person.— Disposition.—Manners.—Social Qualities.—Neglect of Men of Letters.—Conduct in Retirement



# A GENEALOGICAL TABLE

OF THE

WALPOLE FAMILY,

WITH THE DESCENDANTS

OF

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

daughter of Sir John Shorter, Lord Mayor of London, of Bybrook in Kent. d. 1737.

CATHERINE SHORTER, = Sir ROBERT WALPALPOLE, Vifct WALPOLE,

and Earl of ORFORD, b. 1676. d. 1745.

GALFRIDUS. b. 1683. d. 1726.

ALPOLE ton, mbard, Lombard, Efg: e, Norfolk.

ROBERT, created Baron WALPOLE of Walpole, 10 June 1723, and Earl of ORFORD, d. 1751.

MARGARET. daughter of Samuel Rolle, Efq; of Haynton, Devonshire.

K e of Wolterton, f Walpole, 1797, ratio, 4th Earl of 1797-

Sir 110,

1757.

GEORGE, 3rd Earl of ORFORD, b. 1730. d. 1791.

ROBERT. EORGE JAMES.

HORACE GEORGE,

# MEMOIRS

OF

# SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

#### PERIOD THE FIRST:

From his Birth, to the Accession of George the First; 1676—1714.

CHAPTER THE FIRST: 1676-1701.

Family.—Birth.—Talents.—Education.—Country Pursuits.—Marriage.
—Paternal Estate.

THE Ancestors of Sir Robert Walpole, who was the eighteenth male of his family, in a lineal descent, may be traced from the conquest. They took their surname, according to the custom of those days, from the town of Walpole, in Norfolk, on the borders of Lincolnshire, where they had their residence, until one of them exchanged the family seat for Houghton, in the same county\*.

Sir Edward Walpole, his grandfather, was elected

member

<sup>\*</sup>Annexed Genealogical Table. Edmonfon's Baronegium. Collins's Peerage; Article, Earl of Orford. Documents among the Orford Papers.

Period I. 1676 to 1714.

member for the borough of Lynn Regis, in the convention parliament, affembled in April 1660, and voted for the restoration of Charles the Second. As a recompence for his zeal in the royal cause, he was created Knight of the Bath. He was remarkable for his eloquence and weight in parliament; and once, on a warm altercation in the house, he suggested an expedient which was immediately adopted by both parties, for which Waller the poet, in a high strain of panegyric, ironically proposed that he should be sent to the Tower, for not having sooner composed the dispute when he had it in his power \*. He died in 1667.

Robert, the eldest son and heir of Sir Edward Walpole, fat in parliament for the borough of Castle Rising, in the county of Norfolk, from the first year of William and Mary, till his decease in November 1700. He was deputy lieutenant. and colonel of the militia, in the county of Norfolk, and took as active a share as his situation and circumstances permitted in forwarding the Revolution. He confiderably improved his eftate by his prudent management; educated a large family with much credit, and was held in great eftimation by the Whig party, whose measures he appears to have uniformly supported. He had by his wife Mary, only daughter and heirefs of Sir Jeffery Burwell, of Rougham, in Suffolk, nineteen children, of whom ROBERT, afterwards Sir ROBERT

<sup>#</sup> Ædes Walpolianæ.

WALPOLE \* and EARL of ORFORD, the fubject of Chapter 1. these Memoirs, was the third fon.

1676 to 1701.

It feems to be an error not uncommon in mankind, to endeavour to exalt the merit of favourite and eminent characters, by false and exaggerated encomiums, and to attribute folely to nature, what is usually the combined effect of nature, education, and accident. The voice of friendship, admiration, or flattery, has declared, with a fimilar prejudice, that Sir Robert Walpole was born a minister. It was said of him, that he was endowed with a genius for calculation; and that the method which he adopted in fettling accounts, was a mystery understood only by himself. Others of his admirers confidered application in him as not neceffary, because he knew every thing by intuition. But truth and impartiality reject fuch unqualified affertions, and the events of his early life will shew that the natural talents of Walpole, were rather folid than brilliant, and that his acquirements were the fruit of confiderable industry.

He received an excellent education. He came early into parliament; spoke at first indifferently. until habit and practice rendered him an able debater. He was promoted to an office in the admiralty in the 28th year of his age; became fecretary at war at thirty; was trained to business under Marlborough and Godolphin; and managed the house of commons during the Whig administration. Being deprived of his place, he diftinguished

<sup>\*</sup> The early traits in the life of Sir ROBERT WALPOLE, were principally communicated by his fon HORACE, the late earl of Orford.

Period I.

himself in opposition; was persecuted by the To-1676 to 1714 ries, and confidered as a martyr by the Whigs. He promoted, with unabated zeal, the Protestant fuccession, and was rewarded for his services with the place of paymaster of the forces by the new fovereign, whom he had affifted in fixing upon the throne. Thus educated and inured to business, having thus served under government, and acted in opposition, he was placed at the head of the treasury. In this situation, adored by his family, beloved by his friends, and esteemed by his party, he was courted and idolized. His facility for transacting business, and his talents for calculation, were confidered by his fond admirers as the gift of nature, when, in reality, they were the refult of education, affiduity, and experience.

Birth.

ROBERT WALPOLE was born at Houghton on the 26th of August 1676 \*. He received the first

rudiments.

<sup>\*</sup> There is great confusion, and difference of opinion, with regard to the age of Sir Robert Walpole. He himself writes, in his letter-to general Churchill, June 24th 1743; "No disgrace attends me since Sixty-seven." According therefore to this account he must have been born in 1675, and died aged 69, or in his 70th year. His fon Horace, the late Earl of Orford, confirmed this account, and told me that, had he lived till the 26th of August 1745, he would have been 70. The register at Houghton gives no account of his birth or time of baptism; but his death is thus recorded: A. D. 1745 The right honourable earl of Orford died March 18, and was buried the 25th, in the 68th year of his age .- At the bottom of the same page, in another hand, is, " The great Sir Robert Walpole, earl of Orford, departed this life the 18th March 1744, aged 68 Years, and was interred the 25 Do."-According to Collins's Peerage, and the Gentleman's Magazine, he was 71 at the time of his death, which would place his birth in 1674.—The register of his birth by his mother settles the dispute. The reverend Horace Hammond, rector of Great Massingham, in Norfolk, great Nephew to Sir Robert Walpole, to whom I am obliged for the abovementioned extracts from the parish register, favoured me with an account of the births of all the children of Robert and Mary Walpole, registered in her own hand, in a book which is in his possession.

rudiments of learning at a private feminary at Chapter 1. Maffingham, in Norfolk, and completed his edu-1676 to 1701. cation on the foundation at Eton, under Mr. Newborough, who appears to have been diffinguished for his knowledge, and to have raised the school to a high degree of eminence. Walpole was naturally indolent, and disliked application, but the emulation of a public feminary, the alternate menaces and praises of his master, the maxim repeatedly inculcated by his father, that he was a younger brother, and that his future fortune in life depended solely upon his own exertions, overcame the original inertness of his disposition. Before he quitted Eton, he had so con-Education. siderably improved himself in classical literature,

as

# AGE OF MY CHILDREN.

Susan was born	6th June	1672.
Mary 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18 18	8th June	1673-
Edward	23d June	1674.
Burwell	6th August - :-	1675.
ROBERT	26th August	1676.
John	3d September -	3677.
Horatio	8th December -	1678.
Christopher	20th February	1679.
Elizabeth -	24th March	1680
Elizabeth	16th October	1682.
Galfridus	15th March	16834.
Anne	6th April	1685.
Dorothy	18th September	1686.
Sufan	5th December	1687.
Mordaunt	13th December	1688.
A boy ftill-born	8th April	1690.
Charles	30th June	1691.
William 152 152 152 152 152	7th April	x693.
A daughter still-born	20th January	1694

Period I.

as to bear the character of an excellent scholar. 1676 to 1714. A peculiar fondness for Horace \*, marked his good fense, and even after his retirement from public life, when he had long discontinued his early studies, he was by no means deficient in the knowledge of the Greek language. His talents for oratory began to develop themselves at a very early period, for his school-master being informed that feveral of his former scholars who had been educated at Eton, and particularly St. John, had diftinguished themselves for their eloquence in the house of commons, replied, " But I am impatient to hear that Robert Walpole has spoken, for I am convinced that he will be a good orator."

> On the 22d of April 1696 +, he was admitted a scholar at King's † College, in the university of Cambridge. During his refidence, he was feized with the small-pox, which was of a most malignant fort; and he continued for some time in imminent danger. Doctor Brady &, the famous hiftorical advocate for the Tory principles of the English constitution, who was his physician, faid to one of the fellows of King's College, warmly

Principibus placuisse viris non ultima laus est. Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum

in a vol. fol.; and, " A complete Hiltory of England," in 2 vol. fol.

<sup>\*</sup> He was accustomed to give his son, the late earl of Orford, subjects for his Latin compositions, and he almost always took them from Horace. Lord Orford used to recollect two themes which were applicable to his fituation as first minister:

<sup>†</sup> Register of King's College. ‡ A collection being made, after he was prime minister, for the new building at King's College, he subscribed £. 500; and on receiv-ing the thanks of the provost and fellows, he replied, "I deserve no thanks, I have only paid for my board."
§ Brady, author of "An Introduction to the old English History,"

attached to the fame party; "We must take care Chapter 1. \* to fave this young man, or we shall be accused 1676 to 1701. " of having purposely neglected him, because he is so violent a Whig." It was indeed principally owing to his kind and affiduous attention, that Walpole recovered. Notwithstanding Brady's political prejudices, he was fo much pleafed with the fpirit and disposition of his young patient, that he observed with an affectionate attachment, "His " fingular escape seems to be a sure indication that " he is referved for important purposes." In the latter period of his life, when the prediction had been fulfilled, this anecdote was frequently related by Walpole with a complacency, which shewed that it had made a deep impression on his mind, and proved his fatisfaction at the recollection of an event that seemed to anticipate his elevation.

At college he formed a strict intimacy with Hare and Bland, who were members of the same foundation, and in every situation of life, shewed an affectionate regard for the friends of his early youth. He raised Hare, who afterwards ably distinguished himself in defending the measures of the Whig administration, to the bishopric of Chichester, and promoted Bland to the provostship of Eton College, and deanery of Durham.

On the death of his elder furviving brother, in Paternal 1698, becoming heir to the paternal estate, he refigned his scholarship on the 25th of May. He had been originally designed for the church, and was frequently heard to say, with the considence which characterises an aspiring mind, that if such

a desti-

a destination had taken place, instead of being 1676 to 1714. prime minister, he should have been archbishop of Canterbury. Fortunately the superstructure of his education was made before the death of his elder brother, for after that event he relapfed into his natural indolence, and the impulse of necessity being removed, no longer continued to profecute his studies for the purpose of pursuing a liberal profession. His father also assisted in withdrawing him from literary occupations. He immediately took his fon from the university, endeavoured to fix him in the country, and made him attend to the improvement of his estate: with that view he employed him once a week in fuperintending the fale of his cattle at the neighbouring towns, and feemed ambitious that his fon should become the first grazier in the county. His father was of a jovial disposition, and often pushed to excess the pleasures of the table: the hospitable mansion of Houghton was much frequented by the neighbouring gentry, and the convivial temper of Walpole accorded with the scenes of rustic jollity. At these meetings the father occasionally supplied his glass with a double portion of wine, adding, " Come Robert, you shall drink twice, while I drink once; for I will not permit the fon, in his fober fenses, to be witness to the intoxication of his father." His mornings being thus engaged in the occupations of farming, or in the sports of the field, of which he was always extremely fond, and his evenings paffed in festive society, he had no leifure for literary pursuits.

On the 30th of July 1700, he married, in Chapter 1. Knightsbridge Chapel \*, Catherine, daughter of 1676 to 1701. Sir John Shorter, lord mayor of London, a woman of exquisite beauty and accomplished manners; and the amusements of London succeeded the more active employments of the country. Soon after the marriage his father died, and Walpole inherited the family estate, the rent-roll of which exceeded f. 2,000 a year . It was charged with his mother's jointure, and with the fortunes of the younger children, which amounted to f. 0,000. His wife's dowry discharged this incumbrance, and his mother's jointure fell in by her death in 1711.

Nov. 28. 17004

June 9, 1700. A particular of my estate within the county of Norfolk, as it is now let:

Manor of Houghton 252 11
7.4 CD: 137
Manon of Creat Pircham
Manager of Disabase Traft
of Darlin shairs
-f c:A
-0117-0 1.1
of Cl-durant in Today
CYY
of Harply 100 11 —
In Burrough, near Yarmouth - 18
Small lands and tenements 50 - 50
Total in Norfolk 1,818
In Suffolk:
Manor of Haffet 300
Farm of Cavendish, &c 51
Total - 2,169
2,109
personal designation of the second se

<sup>\*</sup> Register of Knightsbridge Chapel, which the reverend D. Lysons. the learned author of the Environs of London, was fo obliging as to fearch at my request.

<sup>+</sup> Among the Orford Papers is a document in the hand-writing of his Father, mewing the amount of the estate, of which the subflance is fubmitted to the reader, as a proof that the reproaches cast upon him by his opponents, of being a needy adventurer, were unfounded.

Period I.

The death of his father threw him into the bufy scenes of public life, when the violent spirit of party gave an impulse to his political exertions; and at the moment when the demise of Charles the Second, king of Spain, fixed the attention of Europe, and excited general apprehensions in England, lest the united dominions of the whole Spanish monarchy should center in a prince of the house of Bourbon.

#### CHAPTER THE SECOND:

### 1700-1701.

Elected Member of Parliament.—Sketch of the important Transactions during the Two last Parliaments of King William.—Act of Settlement in favour of the Protestant Succession and Family —Principles and Conduct of the Leaders at the Revolution.—Ineffectual Endeavour of William to extend the Act of Settlement in favour of the Hanover Line, virtually introduced by the Act for disabling Papisls.—Artful Management of William to procure the Extension of that Act on the Death of the Duke of Gloucester.

Chapter 2.

On the decease of his father, Walpole was elected member for Castle Rising, and sat for that borough in the two short parliaments, which were assembled in the two last years of the reign of king William.

The death of Charles the Second, king of Spain, in the month of October 1700, the acceptation of his testament by Louis the Fourteenth, in breach of the second partition treaty, and the quiet accession of Philip duke of Anjou to the crown of Spain, acknowledged by England and the United Provinces, were events which had preceded the meeting of the parliament in which Walpole first

fat.

fat. The act of fettlement in favour of the elec- Chapter 2. tress Sophia; the violent conduct of the Tory 1700 to 1701. house of commons in the impeachment of Somers Political and the Whig lords; the death of James the Se-Events. cond; the acknowledgment of his fon as James the Third, by Louis the Fourteenth; the indignation of the English at that event; the fuccessful manœuvres of William to rouse the spirit of the nation against France, and to obtain the concurrence of the Tories to a Continental war; the second grand alliance; the diffolution of the Tory parliament and ministry; the choice of a Whig administration and parliament; the declaration of war against France; the attainder of the pretended prince of Wales; the abjuration oath; the death of William, at the moment when he had given an impulse to the grand combination; were the important events which agitated the public mind during the two last parliaments of his reign. To give a detail of these complicated and interesting transactions is not the province of a writer of memoirs, but must be left to the historian of the times; unless they influenced the future conduct and policy of the Minister, whose life I am attempting to delineate. With this view, it may not be improper to flate the circumstances which preceded and accompanied the passing of the act of fettlement, and induced all parties, notwithstanding the avowed repugnance of a majority in the commons, to adopt that measure, which secured to the house of Hanover the throne of Great Bri-

tain,

Period I. 1676 to 1714

tain, and had so strong and permanent an influence on the subsequent conduct of Walpole.

When the arbitrary conduct of James the Second against the constitution and religion had raised the indignation of England, and when our great deliverer William, the prince of Orange, had co-operated with the nation in driving that monarch from the throne; the leaders of the convention parliament, which established the revolution, acted with a spirit and wisdom well becoming the arduous fituation of affairs, and with a temper which accommodated itself, as occasion required, to the customs and prejudices of the nation. While they fet aside that absolute and indefeasible right, which it was averred no conduct, however tyrannical, could violate, and laid down the doctrine of refistance in cases of extreme necessity, they dreaded the evils of an elective monarchy, and guarded against the future establishment of a republican form of government: When they found it necesfary to break the hereditary line of descent, theymade the deviation as fmall as possible, no more than the exigency of circumstances required, and re-established it in the same manner as it existed before that breach was made. With these principles conftantly in view, they declared that James, having endeavoured to subvert the constitution, had abdicated the government, and thereby rendered the throne vacant.

The throne being thus declared abdicated or vacant, by the absence of James the Second, and his son being supposed illegitimate, the next in order

of fuccession was Mary, eldest daughter of James. Chapter 2. But as the nation owed its deliverance from arbitrary power to William, the convention departed from the regular line by declaring him king, jointly with his wife Mary, and by vefting in him the fole administration of government. This appointment was a deviation from the fystem of hereditary defcent, dictated by imperious necessity, and confirmed by gratitude; yet as Mary and Anne both confented to devolve their right to the crown on William, the convention may be faid only to have confirmed this transfer. This fingle deviation excepted, the fuccession was continued after the death of William and Mary in the natural order: in the children of Mary; in Anne; in the children of Anne; and in the children of William, who being the fon of Mary, eldest daughter of Charles the First, was, after Anne, the next in order of fuccession\*.

In 1689, the first parliament which was fummoned by William and Mary confirmed this act of fettlement; but the king, ever anxious to promote the tranquillity of his subjects, and to prevent those future troubles which might arise, should all the persons named in that Act die without iffue, thought it indispensably necessary to extend it to the next heirs in the Protestant line. He ordered. therefore, bishop Burnet to propose in the house of lords, an amendment to the bill of rights, nominating Sophia, dutchess of Hanover, and her iffue, next in the fuccession. Being carried by the lords without opposition, it was thrown out in the

<sup>\*</sup> Blackstone's Commentaries, Vol. z. page 212.

Period I. 1676 to 1714.

house of commons by the Republicans, high Tories, and Jacobites, who all united on this occasion against a bill which equally confounded their respective hopes, under the specious pretence that fuch a nomination was unjust, because it would preclude all those who were prior in lineal descent to the dutchefs, even should they become Protestants\*. The birth of the duke of Gloucester, having still farther removed the apprehensions of a popish successor, William did not chuse to press the nation in favour of the Hanover line, but was fatisfied in obtaining his views by a more concealed but not less effectual method. Instead of naming Sophia, a clause was annexed to the bill of rights, difabling all Papifts from fucceeding to the crown, or fuch as should marry Papists. This clause first opened the prospect of succession to the house of Brunswick, without naming it; because that family, being the first among the Protestant descendants of James the First, became, from the perpetual exclusion of Catholics, next in expectancy to the persons named in the act of settlement. This remarkable clause passed, in both houses, without opposition or debate, notwithstanding the well-known difinclination of the majority of the lower house; and the management of the whole affair reflects the highest honour on the judgment and temper of William.

Such was the order of fuccession when Walpole came into parliament; at which time the recent

<sup>\*</sup> Burnet, vol. 2. p. 15. Tindal, vol. 13. p. 144.

death of the duke of Gloucester alarmed the na- Chapter 2. tion with the dread of a Popish successor, and enabled William to carry into execution his favourite measure of extending the act of settlement to the house of Hanover. Having been deceived by Louis the Fourteenth in the negociations for the second partition treaty, he had dismissed the Whig ministers, who had rendered themselves obnoxious by signing it, and formed a Tory administration, at the head of which were Rochester, Godolphin, and Harley, who, from being a violent partisan of the

Whigs, now fided with their opponents.

William well knew that the greater part of the Tories had conferred with the utmost reluctance to the breach of hereditary descent at the revolution, and had almost uniformly opposed his endeavours in favour of Sophia, as tending, in their opinion, to overturn the fystem of hereditary monarchy, fo long cherished by the constitution of England. He also well knew that the whole body of the real Whigs earnestly promoted the transfer of the crown to the succession in the Protestant line, but, at the same time, he was aware that among those who called themselves Whigs, were many Republicans, who would oppose it from a hope, that if the persons named in the act of settlement should die, means might be found to establish their favourite form of government. He had long perceived that the Whigs themselves could never have carried the bill which he had fo much at heart, in opposition to the united force of the Tories, Jacobites, and Republicans; but he had

he

Period I. 1676 to 1714

now divided the Republicans from the Tories, by placing the latter in power, and being secure of the Whigs on this question, he thought it a favourable opportunity to make the extension of the act. of fettlement with the ministers the price of their elevation. He accordingly recommended in his speech from the throne, February 1701, a further provision for the fuccession of the crown in the Protestant line; notwithstanding this acquiescence of the Tories, he could not carry his point without the confent of the princess Anne, who was at that time, entirely governed by the dutchess of Marlborough; and the dutchess was highly incensed against William, for having formerly arrested the duke her husband, and still more for having publicly withdrawn his confidence from him. With a view therefore to counteract the influence of that artful favourite, and to gain the concurrence of Anne, he permitted infinuations to be thrown out, as if he intended to make a cession of his crown to the fon of James the fecond. These artful rumours alarmed both the princess and her favourite, and extorted her consent to the act of settlement \*.

But although the Tories had promifed the king to promote the extension of the Act of Settlement, before they came into power, and had even permitted a recommendation of it to be introduced into the king's speech, yet the method in which they conducted the business, proved their wish to to obstruct it. The speech was made on the 11th

<sup>\*</sup> Cunningham, vol. 1. p. 185. Somerville's History of King William, p. 545.

Chapter 2.

of February; the commons, in their address, took not the least notice of that part which related to 1700 to 1701. the Protestant succession; and it was not until the 3d of March that the house resolved itself into a committee to take that subject into consideration. Harley observed, that the haste in which the government was fettled at the revolution, had prevented the nation from requiring fuch fecurities from the future fovereign, as would have prevented much mischief; and he hoped they would not fall into the fame error; he therefore moved. that before the person should be named, a provifion should be made by a committee for the security of the rights and liberties of the people. This proposal being accepted, the resolutions of the committee were laid before the house, on the 12th of March, specifying certain restrictions \*, to be ratified by every future fovereign.

Burnet.

\* 1. All things relating to the well-governing of this kingdom which are properly cognizable in the privy council, by the laws and customs of this realm, shall be transacted there, and all resolutions taken thereupon shall be figned by such of the privy council as shall advise and consent to the same. 2. No person born out of the kingdoms of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or the dominions thereunto belonging, or who is not born of English parents beyond the seas, although naturalized or made a denizen, shall be capable to be of the privy council, or a member of either house of parliament, or to enjoy any office or place of trutt. 3. No fuch person shall have any grant of lands, tenements, or hereditaments from the crown to himself, or to any others in trust for him. 4. In case the crown shall hereafter come to any person not being a native of the kingdom of England, this nation shall not be obliged to engage in any war for the defence of any dominions or territories not belonging to the crown of England, without the confent of parliament. 5. Whoever shall hereafter come to the possession of the crown, shall join in communion with the church of England, 6. No pardon under the great feal shall be pleadable to an impeachment in parliament. 7. No person who shall hereafter come to the possession of the crown, shall go out of the dominions of England, Scotland, or Ireland, without the confent of parliament. 8. No person who has an office or place of profit under the king, or receives a pension from the

Period I. 1676 to 1714.

Burnet, whose reflections on the Tories cannot be admitted without extreme caution, observes. that these limitations were designed to disgust the king, and to raise disputes between the two houses, by which the bill might be loft \*; although fome of these restrictions were just, and highly beneficial, this observation is fully justified by the subfequent proceedings of the commons. So many delays were still made, that the patience of the Whigs began to be exhausted, and one of their party was going to propose the electress Sophia. Harley could only prevent this measure by bringing on the question. With a view, however, to cast a ridicule on the act of settlement, he employed Sir John Bolles, who was difordered in his fenses, to propose the bill . The business was so contrived, that this man thus deranged in his intellects, was, by the forms of the house, appointed one of the committee who were instructed to prepare the bill, was twice placed in the chair, and twice gave in the report. The first reading was postponed to the first of April, the second to the feventh, and it did not finally pass till the fourteenth of May. Thus the act of fettlement, which was to secure the religion and constitution of the country, was received with fo much coldness and contempt, that feveral members, during the fitting of the committee, indecently quitted the house, and fo

erown, shall be capable of serving as a member of the house of commons. Judges' commissions shall be made quam diu se bene gesserint, and their salaries ascertained and established: But, upon the address of both houses of parliament, it may be lawful to remove them.

Journals of the bouse of commons.—Tindal.

<sup>\*</sup> Vol. 2. p. 271.

fo many delays were purposely made, that more Chapter 2. than three months elapsed, from the day in which 1700 to 1701. it was recommended from the throne to the time it was fent up to the lords. It passed that house after a flight opposition from the marquis of Normanby. Being carried back to the commons, it was received in a thin house, and several reproachful expressions were uttered against it by some of the members \*.

After fuch a conduct, apparently calculated to render the bill odious and contemptible, what thanks can be given to the Tories, and to their idol Harley, for having in this manner brought forwards the act of fettlement? Is it not evident that they had been drawn into a promife to support it by the artful management of William, and that they endeavoured to counteract the bill at the very moment when they appeared to promote it? The most zealous Whig, however, cannot presume to deny that the nation is highly indebted to the Tories for one of the limitations in the act of fettlement, which the Whigs, with all their ardour for civil and religious liberty, would not have ventured to propose, because it was considered by the king as an infult on his conduct and administration. The reftriction to which I allude is, that no foreigner, though naturalized, should be a member of the privy council, or of either house of parliament, or should enjoy any office or place of trust, or have any grant of lands from the crown. Thefe necessary precautions, naturally suggested by the experience of those evils to which the nation had

<sup>\*</sup> Burnet .- Tindal .- Oldmixon.

Period I. 1676 to 1714.

been already exposed, in consequence of raising a foreign prince to the throne, proved highly beneficial in preventing, on the accession of George the First, the admission of German denizens into the councils and cabinet of England.

#### CHAPTER THE THIRD:

#### 1701-1702.

Waltole foon becomes an active Member of Parliament.—Is upon various Committees, and Teller on feweral important Questions.—Supports the Whigs.—Seconds the Motion for extending the Oath of Abjuration to ecclesiastical Persons.—Death and Character of King William.

Chapter 3.

ALTHOUGH neither the Journals of the House of Commons, nor any contemporary accounts, nor the traditions of his family, record that Walpole made any specific motion, or spoke in favour of the act of settlement, yet there is no doubt that he joined the Whigs in promoting it.

1701.

The Journals prove, that he foon became a very active member. His name appears upon several committees, and in one for privileges and elections, so early as the 13th of February, only three days after the meeting of the parliament in which he first sat. He was particularly attentive to the business which related to the county of Norfolk; and zealously promoted the questions which concerned the trade of Norwich. He made the report from the committee on the bill for erecting hospitals and workhouses in the borough of Lynn, and for better employing and maintaining the poor; and was ordered to carry it up to the house of lords.

He is also mentioned as teller on several important questions which related as well to the trade 1701 to 1702. and revenues of England, as to questions of party. He was one of the tellers against the bill proposed by the Tories for the better preservation of the Protestant religion, and for preventing the translation of bishops from one see to another. His high veneration for the character of Lord Somers, and his zealous attachment to his party, naturally induced him to oppose the motion for his impeachment, and it is not improbable that he afterwards took a confiderable part in his defence. Being young and unexperienced at the period when that question was moved, he gave only a filent vote, but he made a judicious remark, which proved his fagacity: it was, that the zeal of the warmest friends is oftentimes more hurtful to the person whose cause they espouse, than the bitterest accusations of the most inveterate opponents. The defence spoken by Somers in the house of commons was fo able and perspicuous, and made fo deep an impression, as induced Walpole to be of opinion, that if the question had been immediately put, the profecution would have been withdrawn. But the accusers of Lord Somers, foreseeing this event, made fuch inconfistent observations, and used such intemperate expressions, as provoked his friends to reply. According to the account of this debate, given by Walpole, Harcourt began with extremely fallacious, but as plaufible remarks, as the fubject could admit. Cowper's indignation moved him to reply, which occasioned

Chapter 3.

April 23.

April 14.

Period I.

the prolongation of the debate, at the end of 1676 to 1714. which, what had been fignificantly and fully urged by Somers, was in a great measure forgotten. But had the impetuous zeal of his friends been restrained, and his enemies been permitted to proceed without interruption, as long as they thought fit, Walpole apprehended they would have not been able to divide the house\*. He was one of the tellers in favour of the question, that the engrossed replication to the answer of Lord Somers to the articles of impeachment, should be read. On which motion, he divided with 90 against 140.

On entering into parliament, a due diffidence of his own powers repressed his zeal; and he formed a resolution not to speak until he had attained more experience, and fome degree of parliamentary knowledge: but his prudence and caution were overcome by the powerful paffion of emulation.

During his continuance at Eton, he had been the rival of St. John, who was a year younger than himself. The parts of St. John were more lively and brilliant; those of Walpole more steady and folid. Walpole was industrious and diligent, because his talents required application. St. John was negligent, because his quickness of apprehenfion rendered less labour necessary. When both came into public life, this emulation did not cease;

<sup>\*</sup> The general account of this debate is accurately stated in Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, by the author, Dr. Birch, on the express authority of Sir Robert Walpole himself. I have added other particulars from the authority of Etough. He derived his information from a conference which he had with Sir Robert Walpole October 31,1734.

and as they took different parties, opposition kin-Chapter 3. dled their zeal. St. John soon distinguished himfelf in the house of commons, and became an eloquent debater; repeated encomiums bestowed on his rival, roused the ardour of Walpole, and induced him to commence speaker sooner than he at first intended. It does not, however, appear at what time, or on what occasion, he first spoke in the house of commons; all that is known on that fubject is, that the first time he rose, he was confused and embarrassed, and did not seem to realize those expectations which his friends had fondly conceived. At the same time, another member made a studied speech, which was much admired. At the end of the debate, fome persons casting ridicule on Walpole as an indifferent orator, and expressing their approbation on the maiden speech made by the other member, Arthur Mainwaring, who was present, observed in reply, "You may applaud the one, and ridicule the other, as much as you please, but depend upon it, that the spruce gentleman who made the fet speech will never improve, and that Walpole will in time become an excellent speaker \*." The prediction of Mainwaring was foon verified. Walpole took a still more active part in the debates of the enfuing parliament, which met on the 30th of December 1701; which being composed of a majority of Whigs, and acting under a Whig administration, whom William had again called to the helm of

<sup>\*</sup> From Charles Townshend, Esq.

Period I. 1675 to 1714.

government, was more congenial to his political opinions. Yet notwithstanding the preponderance of their interest, the Tories gained a victory in the choice of a speaker, of which lord Townshend takes notice in a letter to Walpole, who was detained at Houghton by the illness of his wise: "Mr. Harley has carried it from Sir Thomas Littleton, by a majority of four votes, which gives his party great encouragement, and is no small mortification to the Whigs. I am extremely forry to hear my cousin has miscarried of a son, but I hope she is in no danger, and that we shall shortly have the happiness of seeing you here \*." Walpole did not long delay taking his feat in the new parliament.

At this period, Louis the Fourteenth having, on the death of James the Second, acknowledged his fon king of England, under the title of James the Third, William ordered his embaffador, the earl of Manchester, to quit France, and in a speech to the new parliament, told them, "He need not press them to lay seriously to heart, and to consider what further means might be used for securing the succession of the crown in the Protestant line, and extinguishing the hopes of all pretenders, and their open and secret abettors." Animated by this exhortation, the commons addressed the crown not to make peace with France, until reparation was made for the great indignity offered by the French king, in declaring the pretended

<sup>\*</sup> December 30 .- Orford Papers.

prince of Wales king of England, Scotland, and Chapter 3. Ireland. The Whigs having now the power, 1701 to 1702. abundantly testified their inclination to confirm the act of fettlement by every means best calculated to favour the exclusion of the dethroned family. Accordingly, a bill for attainting the pretended prince of Wales, paffed in both houses with little opposition. Another for the security of the king's person, for the succession of the crown in the Protestant line, and for extinguishing the hopes of the pretended prince of Wales, was carried with equal fuccess. A clause in this bill, well known under the title of the act of abjuration, enjoined all subjects to swear allegiance to the king, by the title of lawful and rightful king, and his heirs, according to the act of fettlement: this oath was to be taken by all persons in any office, trust, or employment, and to be tendered by two justices of the peace, to any person whom they should suspect of disaffection. Even this clause met with no opposition, and the great struggle was confined to the question, whether this oath should be compulsory or free. The enemies of the Protestant succession could not venture to oppose the oath of abjuration, but they exerted their whole strength to render it null, by contending, that it ought not to be imposed by force, but left to the option of every person to take or to decline it. The contest on this occasion was so great, and the two parties so equal, that this important clause was only carried in a full house by one voice.

188 to 187.

Period I. 1676 to 1714.

This great victory being thus obtained, it was thought proper to extend the oath to all ecclefiastical persons, and members of the universities. Sir Charles Hedges accordingly moved for an addition to the clause, which should comprehend all clergymen, fellows of colleges, and school-masters. Walpole having, during his residence at Cambridge. observed many instances where masters and fellows of colleges had never taken the oath of allegiance. seconded the motion for this amendment, and it was carried without a division; so effectual was the triumph of the Whigs, over the friends of the dethroned family. Horace Walpole alludes to his conduct on this memorable occasion, in a letter from Cambridge \*, in which he describes the consternation of the nonjurors, on being compelled to take the oath of abjuration, and the indignation which they expressed against his brother, for his zeal in promoting the Protestant succesfion.

When the bill was moved in the house of lords, the Tories proposed, and warmly supported an additional amendment, excusing the peerage from the obligation of the oath. Nottingham particularly distinguished himself in its favour, and spoke with so much agitation, that the tears fell from his eyes. But the singular absurdity and injustice of exempting the upper house from the same strictness of engagements to which the lower house had consented, met with the sate which it de-

<sup>\*</sup> Feb. 28, 1701-2. See Correspondence. † Etough's Papers.

ferved: The motion was negatived. Although Chapter 3. the Tories could not carry their question, they fucceeded in adding two amendments, with a view still further to protract the business. The opponents of the Protestant succession in the lower house, coincided with their intentions, for the Bill fent down to the commons, with these amendments, was not returned to the lords till the 3d of March. It was there detained feveral days, and was not fent back to the commons till the 7th, on a Saturday \*, in the hope of deferring it till the Monday; and as the king then lay upon his death bed, almost at the last extremity, such a delay would have been fatal. But the precautions of William, and the vigilance of the Whigs defeated their well-laid scheme. The commons adjourned till fix in the afternoon; in this interval, the king, who was fo weak that he could not hold a pen in his hand, stamped his name to the commission for passing the acts. When the commons met, a message was brought from the lords, importing that the king had figned the commiffion, and defiring the house to come up. The fpeaker, accordingly, accompanied as usual with other members, went out, and returned with the report, that the royal affent had been given to the bill, and to two other acts. No event ever happened in a more critical moment; for William expired between eight and nine on the following morning. The last exercise of his kingly power,

March 8.

<sup>·</sup> Journals of the Lords and Common.

Period I. 1675 to 1714. was his affent to the oath of abjuration, emphatically styled, by the friends of the dethroned family, his curfed legacy. "Thus, observes a contemporary \* author, he confirmed to posterity, with his expiring breath, that liberty, civil and religious, for which during his life he had so often fought in the field; which he was indefatigably augmenting and establishing in his parliament; which he was continually bringing to perfection in his councils, and which, on his accession to the throne, he promised (as he faithfully performed) to secure against all future attempts to subvert it."

#### CHAPTER THE FOURTH:

## 1702-1710.

Accession of Anne.—Walpole makes a Motion in Opposition to Sir Edward Seymour.—Distinguishes himself in the Proceedings on the Aylesbury Election.—Noticed by Earl Godolphin, and the Duke of Marlborough.

—Appointed one of the Seven Council to the Lord High Admiral.—Secretary at War, and Treasurer to the Navy.—Nominated one of the Managers for the House of Commons, upon the Prosecution of Sacheverel.

—His Speech, and Publication on that Occasion.

Chapter 4.

I<sup>N</sup> the first parliament of queen Anne, Walpole was returned for Lynn Regis, where his family had long possessed a permanent interest. For this borough he was regularly chosen, until he was created earl of Orford.

Supports the Whigs.

Although he had spoken frequently in the house of commons, yet the first time in which he ap-

pears upon record, on a public \* question, in the Chapter 4: parliamentary debates, was on the 23d of De-1702 to 1710. cember 1702, when Sir Edward Seymour having carried a resolution to bring in a bill for the refumption of all grants made in the reign of king William, and applying them to the fervice of the Public; Walpole moved, that all the grants made in the reign of the late king James, should also be refumed; but his motion was negatived ... The proposition of Sir Edward Seymour, directed against the Whigs, who had received the principal grants from king William, was supported by a Tory ministry, and easily passed through a Tory parliament; and the counter motion by fo young a member, levelled against the grants made to the Tories, and in opposition to one of their great leaders, fufficiently proved that Walpole was rifing into consequence, and had decidedly enlisted himfelf under the banner of the Whigs 1.

In

<sup>\*</sup> Notitia Parliam .- Lists of the House of Commons in Chandler's Proceedings of Parliament.

<sup>†</sup> Journals of the House of Commons. Tindal, v. 15. p. 474. † As a proof of Walpole's activity, and an indication of the principles and party which he supported, I have extracted, from the Jour-

nals of the House of Commons, the several questions in which he was teller, besides those already mentioned, until he was appointed secretary at war.

<sup>1702 .-</sup> February 19th: Against a clause to be added to a bill, for the further fecurity of his majefty's person and government, that perfons who take upon them offices, shall not depart from the communion of the church of England .- February 26th: Against delaying to read the report of a committee, to confider further of the rights, liberties, and privileges of the house of commons.—March 3d: In favour of a motion for an instruction to a committee on the bill for granting to his majefty divers subsidies.—1703. January 5th: For an amendment to an address, in reply to the queen's message.—1704.

November 14th: Against leave to bring in a bill for preventing occasional conformity. - December 14th : Against the said bill .- De-

in 1797.

Period I. 1676 to 1714.

1704.

In the celebrated cause concerning the Aylesbury election, Walpole distinguished himself in an eminent degree, and attained an high estimation with his party. Complaints of great partiality and injustice in the election of members of parliament, had been continually urged against the sheriffs in the counties, and returning officers in the boroughs, who often found pretexts for rejecting those electors who voted against the members they espoused. When these disputes were brought before the commons, the house seldom entered into the merits of

cember 19th: Against an instruction to a committee, that they have power to receive a clause for the qualification of justices of the peace,

January.

Aylefbury Cafe.

> in a bill for the better recruiting her majesty's land forces, and the marines .- 1705. January 16th: For a motion, that a bill be committed for appointing commissioners to treat of an union between England and Scotland, &c.—January 17th: For a question, that towards the supply, a duty be laid upon all goods imported from the East Indies, Perlia, and China, into England, prohibited to be used in England, and from thence to be exported to Ireland, or any of the plantations .- January 27th: Against a bill, to prevent persons who are entitled by their offices to receive any benefit by public annual taxes, from being members of parliament, while they are in fuch offices .- February 21st: For an amendment in a bill for prohibiting all trade and commerce with France.-March 14th: Against a clause in an act for preventing the further growth of popery.— December 8th: Against a Motion for a committee to consider of the refolution of the lords, declaring those who should infinuate the church to be in danger, enemies to the queen, the church, and the kingdom. -December 19th: For the second reading of a bill, for better security of her majesty's person and government, and the succession in the Protestant line. -1706. February 4th: For an amendment made by the lords in the fame bill.—February 13th: Against a clause to prevent irregular listing of men, to be added to the bill for recruiting the army and marines .- 1707. February 10th: For an amendment to a bill for fecuring the church of England, as by law established .- February 22d : Against a motion for an instruction to the committee on the Bill of Union, that the subjects of this kingdom shall be for ever free from any oath, test, or subscription, within this kingdom, contrary to or inconfiftent with the true Protestant religion of the church of England, as is already provided for the subjects of Scotland, with respect to their Presbyterian government .- December 12th: For an amendment to the above bill .- 1708. January 29th: For the adjournment

of a debate on the English forces in the service of Spain and Portugal,

the cause, but usually decided in favour of the Chapter 4. candidate who voted with the majority. It was no 1702 to 1710. eafy matter to apply a remedy for fuch a glaring abuse; because all parties, when oppressed, made heavy complaints, and when certain of a majority forgot the grievance against which they had before fo loudly exclaimed, and even excused themselves on the necessity of retaliation. At length, after many attempts to obtain justice, Ashby, a freeman, profecuted William White, conftable of Aylesbury, for having refused to admit his vote at the election of burgesses. A verdict, with damages, was found in favour of Ashby, but reversed by the court of Queen's Bench. The cause being carried by appeal to the house of lords, the order of the Queen's Bench was fet aside, and the verdict given at the affizes confirmed. The Tories, who formed the majority of the commons, confidering these proceedings as an encroachment on their privileges, and esteeming that house the judge of fuch queftions as related to the election of its members, the folicitor-general, Sir Simon Harcourt, moved, "That the fole right of examining and determining all matters relating to the election of members to serve in parliament, except in such cases as are otherwise provided for by an act of parliament, is in the house of commons; and that neither the qualification of the electors, or the right of the persons elected, is elsewhere cognizable or determinable." The question was debated with uncommon vehemence and ability; on the fide of the Tories, principally by Harley, St. John, Harcourt,

Period I.

Harcourt and Sir Edward Seymour; on the fide 1676 to 1714. of the Whigs, by Sir Joseph Jekyll, Cowper, King, the marquis of Hartington, and Walpole. He took a short, but sensible part in the debate; and after arguing with much judgment against the motion, proposed to omit that part of it which concerned the qualification of the electors. This amendment, seconded by the marquis of Hartington, was negatived by a majority of only eighteen. and the original question carried.

Yet, although the Whigs were defeated, their arguments produced a strong effect on the public mind. A general discontent prevailed against the feverity of the commons, for committing to Newgate Ashby, and four other inhabitants of Aylesbury, who had likewise sued the returning officers; for preventing their having a Habeas Corpus, for addressing the queen not to permit a motion for a writ of error in the house of lords, which would have released them from prison, and for declaring all folicitors and council, who should profecute or plead in any fuch cause, guilty of a high breach of privilege. The final decision of this important controverly was suspended by the perseverance of the lords, who declared, that a writ of error was a matter of right, not of grace; by the steady determination of the queen not to obstruct, in favour of the house of commons, the course of judicial proceedings in the courts of law; and by the manly opposition of lord chief justice Holt. These contrary pretensions produced a violent quarrel between the two houses, which was terminated

by the diffolution of parliament \*. Although the question was never revived, yet from this time, 1702 to 1710. the house of commons considered itself as the sole judge of the qualifications of electors, and of all other matters which related to the return of members. It was principally owing to these resolutions, that the decisions, in regard to controverted elections, were feldom regulated by the merits of the case, but became questions of personal or political expediency; nor was this abuse corrected, until the act, known by the name of Grenville's Bill, referred to a committee, chosen by ballot, and acting upon oath, the final decision in all contested elections.

Chapter 4.

(1770.)

At this period of his life, Walpole began to be Highly held in high estimation by the great leaders of the his party. Whigs, and was particularly noticed by the duke of Devonshire, the earl of Sunderland, lord Halifax, and lord Somers. Among the perfons of his own age, with whom he entered into habits of close, intimacy, were James, afterwards earl Stanhope, Spencer Compton, afterwards earl of Wilmington, the marquis of Hartington, eldest son of the duke of Devonshire, whose family uniformly proved themselves his firm friends and adherents, and viscount Townshend, who was then just beginning to acquire political importance. But Walpole owed his rife and confequence less to his connections, than to his own talents and fituation. A

<sup>\*</sup> See Journals of the Lords and Commons .- Raymond's Reports, p. 938 .- Proceedings in the great case of Ashby and White, and in the case of the Aylesbury men, - Chandler, - Tindal.

Period I. 1676 to 1714.

member of parliament of a great Whig family, whose interest brought in two \* representatives, and who had distinguished himself in the debates for sound sense, manly argument, and perspicuous eloquence, could not long remain unnoticed. Nor was his reputation solely confined to the party whose cause he so warmly espoused. The lord treasurer Godolphin \*, at a period when a Whig was his aversion, discerned his rising abilities, favoured him with his immediate protection, and strongly recommended him to the patronage of the Duke of Marlborough.

1705.

Noticed by Godolphin.

> The firm adherence of Walpole to his party, was, however, a hindrance to his preferment, as long as Godolphin continued to act folely with the Tories; but no fooner had the leaders of the Whigs regained their popularity, and appeared fecure of a majority in the enfuing parliament, than the lord treasurer brought several into office, and opened to others a prospect of preferment. The duke of Newcastle was declared privy seal, in the room of the marquis of Normanby; and among the inferior places of government, Walpole was appointed one of the council ; to prince George of Denmark, lord high admiral of England. This first service was attended with many disagreeable circumstances: Great mismanagement both at home and at fea, was imputed to the navy

Appointed one of the council to the lord high admiral.

. One for Castle Rising, and one for Lynn Regis.

<sup>†</sup> From the late earl of Orford.—Etough's Summary Account of Sir Robert Walpole.

<sup>†</sup> Walpole Papers.—MS. account of Sir Robert Walpole, in King's College, Cambridge.—Collins's Peerage.

Chapter A.

June.

board. Admiral Churchill, brother to the duke of Marlborough, possessed, at this period, the great-1702 to 1710 est influence at the admiralty, and was accused, with some of the other members, of negligence and corruption. To him the merchants attributed their losses; their loud complaints were heard in both houses, and zealously supported by the principal Whigs. Walpole endeavoured to excuse and mitigate the conduct of the council, and gave a proof of the spirit that marked the decision of his character. Being reproached by one of his friends for acting against his party, he replied, "I never can be so mean to fit at a board, when I cannot · utter a word in its defence \*." But although he conceived, that it was unbecoming in him not to defend those with whom he sat in council, and although he well knew that their faults had been exaggerated, yet he found fufficient abuses to call for immediate correction. He laboured therefore to prove to the board, the necessity of assuming a more decifive conduct; and he fo far ingratiated himself with his fellow counsellors +, that his advice was followed, and his plans were ufually adopted.

The union of spirit and prudence, in so young a man, still further recommended him to the notice of Godolphin, who appears to have placed in him the most implicit confidence, and to have availed himself of his advice and assistance on many important occasions:

<sup>\*</sup> From the late lord Walpole, to the late earl of Hardwick. † Étough's Account of Sir Robert Walpole.

Period I. 1676 to 1714. 1705. October. New parliament.

Reconciles Godolphin with the Whigs.

At the meeting of the new parliament, Walpole feconded the motion, made by lord Granby, to nominate Smith speaker, who was favoured by the Whigs, against Bromley, who was proposed by the Tories. The contest was carried on with great heat and animofity between the two parties; but the majority in favour of Smith proved the triumph of the Whigs.

Walpole had already exerted himself with considerable fuccess, in cementing this union between Godolphin and the Whigs; but he now came forward with still greater effect, and strenuously exhorted his patron to obtain the zealous co-operation of that powerful and popular party. He urged, that the leaders of the Tories in the house of commons, were directed and influenced by his enemies and rivals; and cenfured the spirit of bitterness and violence, of umbrage and persecution, which had been lately prodominant in all their measures; he represented, in the strongest terms, that the Tories, although they had been roused by the general energy of the nation to approve and fecond the grand alliance, were yet averse to the continuance of the war with France; and that on the contrary, the Whigs were not only fincere, but enthusiasts in their zeal for the depression of the house of Bourbon.

His representations were liftened to with attention, and gradually had their effect; Godolphin availed himself of his intimacy with Devonshire, Halifax, Somers, and Townshend, to arrange the coalition, which afterwards took place. If the

union

union of the Treasurer with this party was not so complete and uniform as some of the zealous 1702 to 1710 Whigs expected, the failure proceeded from his apprehensions of the queen's displeasure, his inclination to the principles of the Tories, and his affection for the dethroned family, which was never entirely obliterated.

Chapter 4.

In consequence of these repugnant principles, Changes in the the administration was a motley mixture of Tories cabinet. and Whigs, perpetually at variance, and fecretly caballing to supplant each other. At first the Tories feemed predominant in the cabinet; but the ascendancy of the Whigs soon appeared, from the nomination of Cowper to be lord keeper of the great seal, in the room of fir Nathaniel Wright; yet Harley still continued secretary of state, and through the means of Mrs. Masham, was gradually undermining the influence of Godolphin and Marlborough. During these cabals, the leaders of the Whigs, perceiving that the queen favoured the Tories, forced Charles earl of Sunderland into the office of fecretary of state, in the place of fir Charles December Hedges, in direct opposition to the avowed wish of 1706. the queen, and in contradiction \* to the fecret inclinations both of Godolphin and Marlborough. The appointment of Sunderland was a decided whig admin victory, and from that moment the whole admini-firation. stration adopted the principles, and followed the measures of the Whigs. After some unavailing struggles, Harley was dismissed from the office of

<sup>\*</sup> Conduct of the Duchels of Marlborough.

Period I. 676 to 1714.

February

Appointed ecretary at var.

fecretary of state, and succeeded by Henry Boyle, afterwards lord Carleton, who proved his friend-ship for Walpole, by appointing his brother, Horace, his private secretary; and the subsequent nomination of lord Somers to the presidentship of the council, completed the triumph of the party.

Walpole himself was not overlooked in the change. He was felected by Marlborough as the most proper person to succeed his favourite, St. John, in the delicate office of fecretary at war\*; an office which required a person of no less prudence than ability. During the absence of Marlborough, the fecretary at war transacted the business of the department personally with the queen; he was to correspond officially and confidentially with the commander in chief; and had the difficult task to conciliate the capricious temper of the duchess of Marlborough, who interfered in all business, governed her husband with the most absolute fway, and who now treated the queen with those marks of difrespect, which finally occasioned her own difgrace, and the fall of the Whig administration.

1709. Treasurer of the navy. On the decease of Sir Thomas Littleton, Walpole was appointed treasurer of the navy, which office he held for a short time, with that of secretary at war.

In addition to his parliamentary abilities, Walpole endeared himself to Godolphin by activity and

punctuality

<sup>\*</sup> The office of fecretary at war was defined to Cardonnel, confidential fecretary to the duke of Marlborough; but as he was abroad with the duke, Walpole retained that place until his return.

punctuality in business, order and precision in ac- Chapter ... counts, great knowledge of finance, and the most 1702 to 1710 engaging manners. The treasurer admitted him into his most secret councils, entrusted him with the delicate office of composing the speeches from the throne, and from the time of Harley's refignation, committed to him the management of the house of commons \*. Nothing will place the prudent and conciliating character of the young senator in a stronger light, than that Godolphin and Marlborough, who never cordially coalesced with the Whigs, should take into their confidence, one who had proved himself, and still continued to prove himself, so ardently attached to that party; at the same time he was so far from forfeiting the favour of the Whigs, that he was equally beloved and trufted by their leaders.

In 1710, Walpole was appointed one of the ma-Manager for nagers for the impeachment of Sacheverel, and the trial of principally conducted that business in the house of commons. To bring Sacheverel to a trial, and to diffinguish him with an impeachment, managed in the most solemn manner, for a miserable performance, which, without fuch notice, would have speedily funk into oblivion, was an inexcusable degradation of the dignity of the house of commons, and affords a striking instance of the height of folly and infatuation to which the spirit of party will carry even the wifest men. It is well known that this measure was suggested by Godolphin, who was

<sup>\*</sup> Etough's Account of Sir Robert Walpole.

Period I. 1676 to 1714.

feverely satirised in the sermon under the name of Volpone, and that it was warmly opposed by Somers and the Whig lords. Walpole, in conformity to their opinion, endeavoured to prevail on Godolphin to desist from the prosecution; but all arguments were ineffectual. The minister, in this instance, laid aside his usual circumspection, and irritated by a passion unworthy of the occasion, insisted with so much vehemence, that he sinally extorted the consent of his colleagues in office.

Walpole, acting in conformity to their resolutions, conducted himself on the occasion with no less prudence than spirit. It sell to his share to support the first article of the charge; that Sacheverel had suggested and maintained, "That the necessary means used to bring about the happy revolution, were odious and unjustifiable; that his late majesty, in his declaration, disclaimed the least imputation of resistance, and that to impute resistance to the said revolution, was to cast black and odious colours upon his late masifighty and the said revolution,"

On this delicate subject, which it is so difficult to define and restrain within the proper bounds, while the doctrine of resistance is allowed, in cases of extreme necessity, he spoke with equal precision, moderation, and energy, and drew the happy medium between the extremes of licentiousness and rational liberty; between a just opposition to arbitrary measures, and a due submission to a free and

well-regulated government \*. While he repro- Chapter 4. bated, in the strongest terms, the doctrines of di- 1702 to 171 vine indefeafible right, and passive obedience, he by no means encouraged, even in the flightest degree, any vague notions of refistance in undetermined cases, or upon trivial motives; but established hereditary right as the effence of the British constitution, never to be transgressed, except in such instances as justified the revolution.

The refult of this ill-judged trial was far different from the event which Godolphin and his friends weakly expected. The triumph of the Tories was evident from the lenity of the fentence, which only ordered, that the fermon should be burnt by the common hangman, and fuspended Sacheverel from preaching during three years. The unpopularity of the ministers was highly increased; the inclination of the queen, in favour of their opponents, was oftentatiously manifested; the populace was inflamed; and the confequence of this act of imprudence and precipitation, was the downfall of those who hoped to find, in the condemnation of Sacheverel, the revival of their popularity, and the establishment of their power.

It may not perhaps, in this place, be improper to observe, that the fatal and mischievous consequences which refulted from the trial of Sacheverel, had a permanent effect on the future conduct of Walpole, when he was afterwards placed at the

<sup>\*</sup> This speech, written in his own hand, is still extant among the Orford Papers. The printed speech, in the account of Sacheverel's trial, is taken from it verbatim. Burke has quoted a sensible passage of it in his Appeal from the new to the old Whigs, p. 65.

Peried I. \$676 to 1714.

head of administration. It insused into him an aversion and horror at any interposition in the affairs of the church, and led him to assume, occasionally, a line of conduct which appeared to militate against those principles of general toleration, to which he was naturally inclined.

Soon after the removal of the Whig administration, Walpole published a pamphlet on this \* remarkable trial, entitled, Four Letters to a Friend in North Britain, upon the publishing the Trial of Dr. Sacheverel. The first letter states the particulars which preceded the trial; the second, those which accompanied it; the third, those which followed it; and the fourth displays the consequences. The purport of this publication, was to prove in clear and familiar language, and by a plain, but strong deduction of reasoning, that the abettors of Sacheverel were the abettors of the Pretender; and that those who agreed with him to condemn such resistance as dethroned the father, could have no other meaning than the restoration of the son.

<sup>\*</sup> This pamphlet is erroneously attributed to Arthur Mainwaring, by Tindal, and the Biographia Britannica. See Royal and Noble Authors; Article, Earl of Orford.

#### CHAPTER THE FIFTH:

## 1710.

Intrigues and Cabals which occasioned the Removal of the Whig Administration.—Walpole holds a confidential Correspondence with the Duke of Marlhorough, Lord Townshend, and Horace Walpole.—Rejects the Offers and despites the Threats of Harley.—Resules to take a Part in the new Administration.

ALPOLE now began to enjoy, in the posses. Chapter 5. fion of an honourable and lucrative office, 1710, the reward of his able and uniform conduct, and Removal of had the pride of feeing his country fuccessful be-the Whig adyond the example of former ages, fince the days of ministration. Elizabeth, under a great and wife administration, in which he bore an active part. Marlborough, Godolphin, Somers, Sunderland, Wharton, Cowper, Halifax, and Townshend, occupied the first posts of government, were united in the same cause, acted with the fame views, and promoted the honour and advantage of England by the most vigorous and spirited measures. But he did not long feel this fatisfaction, for at the very moment when the country was reaping the fruits of their wisdom, forefight, and energy, the ministry was removed. Had not this change taken place, the king of France must have accepted the terms of peace offered by England, and unequivocally compelled his grandson, Philip, to renounce the crown of Spain. St. Simon \* calls the intrigues which introduced a

Tory

<sup>\*</sup> Memoires secrets du regne de Louis XIV, par Louis duc de St. Simon.

Period I. 1676 to 1714.

Tory administration that faved France, les miracles de Londres. The king of Prussia\*, also speaking of Marlborough, fays, "What! Hoechstedt, Ramilies, Oudernarde, Malplaquet, were not able to defend the name of that great man; and even victory itself could not shield him against envy and detraction? What part," he adds, "would England have acted without that true hero? he fupported and raifed her, and would have exalted her to the pinnacle of greatness, but for those wretched female intrigues, of which France took advantage to occasion his difgrace. Louis the Fourteenth was loft, if Marlborough had retained his power two years more." In fact, the removal of the Whig ministry retarded, instead of accelerating the peace, because it encouraged Louis the Fourteenth to break the congress of Gertruydenberg, threw the queen entirely into his power, and the prediction of Marlborough, in a letter + to Walpole, was eventually verified; "If the schemers are fond of a peace, they are not very dexterous, for most certainly what is doing in England, will be a great encouragement to France for continuing the war."

There never was any event in the annals of this country attended with more difgraceful confequences to England, or followed by more fatal effects to Europe in general, than the difinifion of those great men, who formed that glorious and successful administration in the reign of queen

<sup>\*</sup> Dialogue Des morts Marlborough, Eugene, Lichtenstein.

<sup>†</sup> See Correspondence, June 23d, 1710.

Anne, called, by way of distinction, the Whig ad- Chapter 5. ministration

1710.

Our regret at their fall is still further heightened from the confideration, that it was occasioned by the overbearing temper of a miftress of the robes \*, and principally effected by the petty intrigues of a bed-chamber-woman +, against her benefactress. The furprising influence which the duchefs of Marlborough had acquired over the weak and irrefolute mind of the good queen Anne, is well described in that extraordinary apology of her conduct, which the duchess gave to the public. We there find a princess of the most placid temper, fascinated by the captivating manners of an artful, but agreeable woman; a queen, imbued with high notions of regal dignity, and a most exact observer of forms, throwing off all etiquette, and corresponding with her favourite, under the fictitious names of Morley and Freeman. We find the duchess, after having engaged the affections of her mistress by the most assiduous attention, relapfing into gross neglect, and gradually finking in favour. We find her at the fame time either not perceiving, or friving to conceal from others, and even from herfelf, the decline of her afcendancy, and increasing the disgust of the queen by her rude and intemperate behaviour. Unfortunately, the duchefs of Marlborough had fo much credit and power with the duke, her husband, and Godolphin, that to remove her it became necessary to

<sup>\*</sup> Duchess of Marlborough. † Abigail Hill, Mrs. and afterwards lady Masham.

remove the ministry, over whom she possessed to 1676 to 1714 ftrong an influence. The artful and cautious manner by which Mrs. Masham supplanted the duchefs of Marlborough, is also related in this apology, which may be called a manual of court intrigues; and her cabals with Harley, are detailed in the writings of Swift, who derived his information on that subject, from the most unquestionable authorities.

> The Whigs were beginning to lofe their popularity, when the trial of Sacheverel raifed a ferment in the nation, and excited a general outcry against them. The ministry, and particularly the duke of Marlborough, were accused of protracting the war for their own interests; and this calumny was urged fo boldly and repeatedly, that it was finally believed; the terms also, which the British plenipotentiaries attempted to exact from Louis the Fourteenth, though strictly confonant to true policy, and founded on the principles laid down at the commencement of the war, were declared illiberal. and only advanced to prevent that haughty monarch from acceding to them.

> From an impartial review of the numerous papers, to which I have had access, and from a diligent comparison of the political writings of those times, I feel the strongest conviction, that the ministry were fincere in proposing the terms of peace at the congress of Gertruydenberg; that they were even anxious to lower the demands of the Dutch, and make them as moderate as were confiftent with the fecurity of Europe, and that they were fanguine in

> > their

their expectations that Louis the Fourteenth, cir- Chapter & cumfranced as he then was, would accede to them. It also appears, from the Diary of Lord Cowper, that he was the only one of the ministers who harboured a doubt on the subject, and that by expressing that doubt he incurred the indignation of Godolphin \*. During the trial of Sacheverel, Intrigues of Harley. when

1710.

\* 23d Janry. 1709, Sunday, lord treasurer at his house, read duke Marlborough's letter, dated abot 15 days before, from Hague; that Buys and 3 of the Burges of Amsterdam, and the Pensioner had recd sometime fince, by overtures of peace from France, vizt to quit Spain and the West Indies, and to give a barrier to states in Flanders, that 'twas a great fecret, known only as above; that the Penfioner faid he should be ruined if known he had kept it from the states so long. Lord treasurer said, he shew'd it me by queen's order; I advis'd, and it was agreed only to put the propofals more particularly, and at large, as foon as possible; several intermediate debates in cabinet, shew'd by lord treasurer.

April 12, the following letter from duke Marlborough, Hague, April 19, 1709. The deputys of States Gen were with me yesterday abot 2 hours, the which time was spent upon the subject of their barrier. After I had given them all the affurances I thought necessary of the intentions and inclinations of the queen and English nation, of concurring with them in what might be reasonable for their barrier, I did endeavour to cure them of any jealousy they might have of my being particularly concerned. I hope it has had a good effect with 'em; however, I have done all I can, and shall do so to keep them in good humour, if possible. The inclosed is what they defire for their barrier. It incloses what might be thought a great kingdom. I hope to persuade them from some of it; so that I beg very few may see it: but when I have done all that may be in my power, I shall than send it to the secry, so that it may come regularly to her majesty, and the cab. counc. Monst Rouillie's messenger returned last night, but I am told he desires two days to decypher his dispatches; so that Tuesday will be the soonest I shall be able to give you an account of this matter. This is so critical a time, that I dare not be of any opinion: but I tremble when I think that a very little impatience may ruin a fure game. Barrier, Dendmd, Chateau de Ghent, Dame, Ostend, Newport, Furnes, Knocq, Ipres, Menin, Liste, Tournay, Condé, Mons, Valenciennes, Maubeuge, Charleroy, Namur. Luxemburgh, Liere, Haut-Geldre en propre, permission to fortify Hall, Sr le Demer, the head of Flanders, with the forts on the Scheld, Huy, Leige, and Bon.

Note, during the remaining transaction of the intended peace, which was laid in all its steps before whole cabinet, lord treasurer, lord president Somers, and all other lords, did ever feem confident of a peace. My own distrust was so remarkable, that I was once pfectly chid by the

when their unpopularity increased, Harley was ad-1676 to 1714 mitted, by the introduction of Mrs. Masham, to feveral private interviews with the queen, in which he endeavoured to perfuade her to difmiss the miniftry, but as she was of a timid, procrastinating disposition, he had great difficulty in succeeding. Not being able to prevail upon her to take a bold step, he artfully led her, by infensible degrees, to the accomplishment of his scheme. With this view, he persuaded her to consult the duke \* of Shrewfbury, whom he had previously gained, and in whom she placed great considence, on these points; "Would the public credit fuffer by the change of administration? Could that measure be carried into effect without a diffolution of parliament? or would that diffolution be attended with danger? Could a peace be negotiated with fafety to the queen, and with honour to the allies?"

The duke of Shrewsbury having given his opinion in the affirmative, and supported the queen in her resolution, Harley persuaded her to appoint earl Rivers lieutenant of the Tower, in opposition to the recommendation of Marlborough +, and to bestow a regiment, vacant by the death of the earl of Effex, on Mr. Hill, brother to Mrs. Masham. As the promotion of this officer was

lord treasurer, never so much in any other case, for faying such orders would be proper if the French king signed the preliminary treaty. He resented my making a question of it, and said there could be no doubt, &c. For my part, nothing but seeing so great men believe it, could ever incline me to think France reduced so low as to accept such conditions .- Lord Cowper's Diary; Hardwicke Papers.

<sup>\*</sup> Life of the Duke of Shrewsbury.

<sup>†</sup> Swift's Memoirs relating to the Change in the Queen's Ministry, v. XV. p. 20,

Chapter 5.

highly disagreeable to the duchess of Marlborough, and must tend to lessen the duke's weight and authority in the army, he remonstrated in person, and turged his objections in fuch a manly and spirited manner, as displeased the queen; and induced her to answer, that he would do well to advise with his friends: Godolphin having no less ineffectually represented to her, that the duke's long and faithful fervices deferved a more favourable treatment. Marlborough retired in difgust to Windsor, and wrote a high spirited, but indiscreet letter, in which, after stating his readiness to obey her commands, he expressed his regret that all his services could not protect him from the malice of a bedchamber woman, and requested instant permission to retire. Before the queen lad received this letter, she became apprehensive lest the refignation of the duke at this critical juncture, should cause discontents in the nation, and alarmed at the threats of Sunderland, to propose in the house of lords the removal of Mrs. Masham, ordered Godolphin to inform Marlborough, that he might dispose of the regiment. In reply to his letter, the also expressed her concern at what had passed; and by this condescension engaged him to continue the command of the army in Flanders. But although the queen yielded in this instance, she persevered in her intentions, and foon afterwards gave unequivocal proofs of her resolution, by dismissing the marquis of Kent from the post of lord chamberlain, and conferring that office on the duke of Shrewfbury, against the inclinations of the ministry.

Period I. sponds with Marlborough.

Laments the

Whigs.

During these transactions Walpole maintained 1676 to 1714 an official and confidential correspondence with Walpole corre-the duke of Marlborough, while absent from England; with Lord Townshend, plenipotentiary at the congress of Gertruydenberg; and with his brother Horace Walpole, private fecretary to Lord Townshend. The whole of this interesting correspondence is not extant, but a sufficient part is ftill preserved \* to do honour to the persons who were engaged in it, to throw a new light over the transactions of that period, and to illustrate the conduct of the ministers on that memorable occafion. It shews that their fall was owing no less to their own difunion, than to the intrigues of Mrs. Masham and Harley, and the opposition of the Tories. It plainly appears to have been the opidifunion of the nion of Walpole, that more active and decifive measures should have been pursued before the removal of Sunderland. He lamented the division of the ministry, the jealousy and coldness of Godolphin, who would not make any attempt to fave Sunderland; he conjectured that his difgrace would be followed by the difmission of Godolphin and Marlborough, which they did not foresee, or else their difinclination to Sunderland overcame the apprehensions which they ought to have entertained for their own fafety.

> Walpole was at that time in a fubordinate fituation. He had great obligations both to Godolphin and Marlborough, and he was joined in opinion with the Whig leaders. He had therefore a

<sup>\*</sup> See Correspondence, Period I.

1710.

very delicate part to act; yet he wrote to Marlbo- Chapter 5. rough with great spirit and freedom; and even, ventured to advise him not to offend the queen, by refusing obstinately to promote the husband and brother of Mrs. Masham; although such advice was most likely to offend, as in fact it did offend. the duchefs of Marlborough. It appears also from these letters, that Marlborough and Godolphin meanly tampered with the duke of Shrewfbury, and attempted, through his influence over the queen, to prevent the diffolution of the parliament; instead of boldly and manfully coming forward, they acted this underhand part, and fuffered, by this dilatory and equivocal conduct, Harley to divide and difunite the Whigs.

Perhaps it may be conjectured, that if on the difinifion of Sunderland, which was fure to be followed by other changes, notwithstanding the positive assurances of the queen to the contrary, Godolphin and all his friends had inftantly refigned their places, and if the duke of Marlborough had given up his command of the army, fo unanimous and bold a measure would have dispirited the queen, and alarmed the Tories. Under these impressions she could not have ventured to make a fudden and total change; the would probably have been checked by the apprehension of alienating the whole party of the Whigs, who then formed a large majority in parliament, and of difgusting the monied men, many of whom made the public credit personal to Godolphin, and scrupling to adPeriod I.

vance money upon the faith of the nation, offered 1676 to 1714 it upon his fingle word \*. She would have dreaded the remonstrances of the emperor and the Dutch. who justly considered the great successes of the war as principally owing to the military talents of Marlborough.

> Such was the opinion of Walpole; and Sir Richard Temple, afterwards Lord Cobham, expressed his fentiments in favour of a general refignation, in a spirited letter to his friend Walpole, with whom he then acted, and by whom he had been ftrongly recommended to the duke of Marlborough, both Walpole and his brother Horace forefaw and lamented that the Whigs, instead of adopting this decifive and manly conduct, would be divided among themselves, and that several would listen to the infidious overtures of Harley. In effect, that artful minister flattered them with the hopes that the parliament would not be dissolved, and reprefenting the danger which would threaten the constitution and religion, should their whole body defert the queen, he used the remarkable expressions, "That a Whig game was intended at the bottom," and that his great object would be to promote the Protestant succession +.

These representations and promises had a due effect, and helped to break the phalanx, which, had it remained firm and compact, must have been invincible.

<sup>\*</sup> Life of the duke of Shrewibury . - \* Cowper's Diary; Hardwicke Papers.

1710.

Many of the Whigs hesitated, and delayed their Chapter refignation. Newcastle remained in power until he was removed. The duke of Somerfet was perfuaded by the queen to keep his place, but affected to declare that he would not attend the privy council; and even Halifax, the stern champion of the party, is faid to have availed himself of his long acquaintance with Harley, and to have fo effectually treated with him in private, that none of his own relations were displaced \*. Marlborough retained the command of the army only to be dif-

Lord Chancellor Cowper, in particular, behaved Refignation with unexampled firmness and honour. He re-Lord Cow jected with fcorn all the overtures which Harley made, in the most humble and supplicating manner, to induce him to continue in office. When he waited on the queen to refign, she strongly opposed his resolution, and returned the seals three times, after he had laid them down. At last, when the could not prevail, the commanded him to take them; adding, I beg it as a favour of you, if I may use that expression. Cowper could not refuse to

miffed with ignominy +, when his fervices were no longer thought necessary. Devonshire, Henry Boyle, Wharton, Somers, and Cowper, were among the few leaders who refigned with spirit and dig-

nity.

<sup>\*</sup> Cunningham's History of Great Britain, vol. 2. p. 305. Letter from Horace Walpole to Etough, September 21st, 1752. See Correspondence, Period II.

<sup>+</sup> The manner in which Marlborough was treated by the new ministry, appears by two letters from Bolingbroke to Drummond. See Correspondence, Period I. 1711.

Period I.

obey her commands; but after a short pause, taking 1676 to 1714 up the feals, he faid that he would not carry them out of the palace, except on the promife, that the furrender of them would be accepted on the morrow. "The arguments on my fide," to use the words of Lord Cowper himfelf, " and professions, and the " repeated importunities of her majesty, drew this "audience into the length of three quarters of an "hour \*." On the following day, his refignation was accepted, and foon afterwards the feals were given to Sir Simon Harcourt.

Walpole reects the overtures of Harley,

Walpole acted on this occasion an honourable and difinterested part. In the wreck of this great administration, Harley, desirous of retaining in power feveral of the Whigs, with a view to counterbalance the credit of St. John and Harcourt, who already began to give him umbrage, endeayoured to gain Walpole. He made very flattering advances; told him that he was worth half his party +, and preffed him to continue in administration; but all his efforts proved ineffectual.

Harley finding at last that promises and flattery were employed without avail, had recourse to Hawes, one of his confidential emissaries, threats. who was afterwards receiver of the customs, informed Walpole, that the treasurer had in his posfession a note for the contract of forage, indorsed by him; this infinuation was made in fuch a manner, as to imply, that if Walpole would come over to the new ministry, this note should not be pro-

<sup>\*</sup> Cowper's Diary. † Letter to Mr. Pulteney, in answer to his Romarks, p. 47.

Chapter g. 1710.

duced against him. But he, no less disdainful of menaces than before he was regardless of promises, rejected all overtures. In a letter \* written on the 19th of September, he observes to his friend General Stanhope; "I believe, in all probability, this " will be the last letter I shall write from this of-" fice. We are in fuch a way here, as I cannot " describe. But you can imagine nothing worse than you will hear. The parliament is not yet " diffolved, but this week will certainly determine " it. Dear Stanhope, God prosper you, and pray " make hafte to us, that you may fee what you " will not believe if it were told you," A few days after writing this letter, he retired from the Retires from the office of office of fecretary at war.

fecretaro at

Harley, however, was not repulsed by the first war. refusal of Walpole to support his administration. He had too much fuccess with many of the Whigs, not to exert every effort to gain a man whose talents and eloquence he held in the highest estimation. He suffered him to continue in his place of treafurer of the navy, feveral months after the Whig ministry were entirely routed. He sent several messages, and held several conversations with him, to perfuade him to moderate his opposition against the new measures; but his constant answer was, " Make a fafe and honourable peace, and preferve " the Protestant succession, and you will have no

" opposition ."

<sup>\*</sup> Walpole Papers.

<sup>†</sup> Etough's Papers; Horace Walpole to Etough, Oct. 14, 1752.

### CHAPTER THE SIXTH;

# 1711-1713.

Conduct of Walpole in Opposition.—Ably defends the late Administration against the Charge of not accounting for the Public Expenditure.—Accused of Breach of Trust and Corruption when Secretary at War.—Committed to the Tower.—Expelled the House, and incapacitated from sitting in the present Parliament.—Visited by Persons of the first Distinction and Abilities.—Writes an able Desence of himself.

Chap. 6.
1711 to 1713.
Supports the late adminification.

As Walpole dignified and supported an administration prosperous at home and glorious abroad, fo when it was vilified and difgraced, he made animated replies to the attacks of a powerful and irritated party. During the intervening period, from his refignation to the death of queen Anne, he persevered in attachment to his late asfociates, and in haraffing the new ministers, with great ability, both in and out of parliament. The first instance in which he appeared the champion of the fallen party, was upon the motion of an address to the queen. On this occasion, Walpole, whom Swift, in his history of the four last years of queen Anne, calls one Mr. Robert Walpole, proposed an amendment to the address, importing that no peace can be honourable to Great Britain and Europe, if Spain and the Indies are to be allotted to a branch of the house of Bourbon. This clause, which had been carried by the lords, was negatived in the house of commons by a very great majority.

But his subsequent efforts were still more im- Chapter portant and useful. The Tories having attempted 1711 to to arraign the measures of their predecessors in office, turned their principal objections against the management of the revenue; a topic on which it was most easy to delude the public mind, by introducing a feries of complicated calculations. This attack was principally levelled against Godolphin, who was accused of having profusely lavished the public money, and of not having accounted for the fums voted by parliament. When feveral of his former adherents in the house of commons deferted the ex-minister, a few defended his cause, and argued that the clamours raised against him, were merely the effusions of malice and calumny. The infidious attack was malqued under the plaufible appearance of appointing a committee for examining and stating the public accounts. St. John employed all the powers of his eloquence, to shew the necessity of taking into confideration the national expenditure; maintained that none but those who were enemies to their country, or who would themselves plunder the treafury, would be fo bold as to oppose the inquiry; and supported his arguments with the most ardent affectation of zeal for the church and constitution.

No fooner had St. John ceased speaking, than Speaks in Walpole rose with great spirit to vindicate his dolphin. patron from the imputation of corruption and malversation. He did not, however, condescend to make any reply to the hypocritical affeveration of

Period I. 676 to 1714.

St. John, in regard to religion, but confined his remarks to the subject of debate. He explained, in a calm and diffinct manner, the accounts of the public expenditure, and confirmed the truth of his report, by the original receipts, and the most authentic testimonies. After having proved that the inquiry was founded on party animofity, he concluded by observing, "If he is accused, who cannot be charged with any crime, or any just fuspicion of a crime, and whom the member who fpoke last could neither fear nor hate, take heed left the conftitution should receive awound through his fides. It is obvious, how much the multitude is under the influence of bribery, it is obvious, that the people of England are at this moment animated against each other, with a spirit of hatred and rancour, It behoves you, in the first place, to find a remedy for those distempers, which at present are predominant in the civil constitution, and unless you reject this inquiry with becoming indignation, I leave you to conjecture the fituation to which this kingdom and government are likely to be exposed \*." But the zeal and eloquence of Walpole had no effect; for the committee was appointed, confifting of persons principally Tories, and two notorious Jacobites; all previously determined to arraign the proceedings. of the former administration. The result of their inquiry was given in a most extraordinary report, which passed the house on the 12th of April, and

eport of the

<sup>\*</sup> Cunningham's History of Great Britain, vol. 2. p. 349, 350.

was presented to the queen on the same day. After Chapter 6 stating the great arrears due from public taxes, 1711 to 17 many embezzlements and fcandalous abuses, evil mismanagement in public offices, and misapplication of parliamentary supplies; it boldly afferted, "That of the monies granted by parliament, and " issued for the public service to Christmas 1710. "THERE REMAINS UNACCOUNTED FOR, THE " SUM OF f. 35,302,107, FOR A GREAT PART " OF WHICH NO ACCOMPTS HAVE SO MUCH AS " BEEN LAID BEFORE THE AUDITORS; and for " the rest, though some accompts have been brought " in, yet they have not been profecuted by the " accomptants, and finished." This unqualified reproach cast by the house of commons on the ex-ministers, had for a short time a prodigious effect in increasing the unpopularity of the Whigs. The people conceived it to be impossible, that the commons would advance fuch an affertion, with out the most convincing proofs in its favour. A general belief gained ground, that the nation had been deceived and betrayed; fresh confidence was placed in the new ministers, who thus displayed their care for the people, and proved their capacity by contriving fuch means as might afcertain and discharge so vast a debt,

In opposition to these accusations, Walpole again Answered came forth as the champion of his colleagues, and Walpole. published "The Debts of the Nation stated and " confidered," and the "Thirty-five Millions accounted for." In these publications, the author, who is called by Arthur Mainwaring, the best master

of figures of any man of his time, gave, in a small 1676 to 1714. compass, so accurate a scheme of the public debts, especially of the navy, together with the management of the revenues, the anticipations, the debts, and the reasons and necessity of them, as entirely undeceived the public, and refuted the calumnies which had been fo industriously raised \*. He proved, in a clear and fatisfactory manner, that the debt of the navy, which was estimated at f. 5,130,539, did not exceed f. 574,000; and that of the whole f. 35,000,000, all but f. 4,000,000 had been accounted for.

> Walpole had diffinguished himself too ably in the house of commons, and by his publications had proved himself too warm a friend of the fallen ministry, and too powerful an adversary to the reigning administration, not to be fingled out as one of the facrifices to be made at the shrine of party vengeance. His expulsion, therefore, from the house of commons was resolved, and a meeting held by the leaders of the opposite party for the purpose of confulting on the means of proceeding. But the injustice of this act was esteemed so flagrant, and the imputations of guilt fo faint and false, that many of those who had united to overturn the late administration, declared their averfion to this malicious defign. Bromley 4, how, ever, removed their scruples, by declaring that the expulsion of Walpole was the unum necessarium,

<sup>\*</sup> Conduct of Robert Walpole, esquire, from the beginning of the reign of queen Anne, to the present time, 1717, p. 29.—Tindal.—,

<sup>†</sup> Letter from Horace Walpole to Etough, September 21, 1751.

s they could not carry on the business, if he was Chapter 6. fuffered to continue in the house. It is no won- 1711 to 1713. der, therefore, that his enemies, who could command a majority, should find a plausible pretext. Accused of The commissioners of public accounts laid a charge corruption. of venality and corruption against him for forage- December 21. contracts in Scotland while he was fecretary at war. They accused him of having taken, in two contracts, two notes of hand, one for 500 guineas, the other for f. 500, the first of which had been paid. and a receipt given in his name, and of the other f. 400 was paid. It appeared, from examining of the witnesses, on oath, that the contractors, rather than admit into their partnership Robert Mann, agent for Walpole, who, according to the tenour of the original agreement, referved a share for a friend, to have a benefit of the fifth part, if not redeemed by the contractors with a fumof money, had preferred paying the 500 guineas and f. 500; and that Mann had received the money for the first note, and had obtained the fecond note as a deposit for the fum specified to be paid.

In confequence of these reports, Walpole was January 17 heard in his own defence, though no particulars of his speech are preferved in the proceedings of parliament; after he had withdrawn, a warm debate took place, which lasted till past ten at night. His friends, on this occasion, supported him with fo much zeal, that the house was divided four times in the fame fitting; and the ministers, who carried all political questions in this session with

Period 1. 1676 to 1714.

only a trifling opposition, gained the motions for his condemnation and expulsion, by a small majority. On the first division, in which Pulteney. then his intimate friend, afterwards his most bitter opponent, was teller, the amendment, to leave out the words, " and notorious corruption," was negatived by a majority of 52. The main question passed in the affirmative by 57 The motion for committing him to the Tower by only twelve; and his expulsion was decreed by 22 \*. These fmall majorities fufficiently prove, either that Walpole possessed great personal influence in the house, or that many of the Tories considered his accufation a fcandalous profecution, and would not give their votes against him. The house, however, refolved, " That Robert Walpole, efquire, was guilty of a high breach of truft, and notorious corruption: That he should be committed prifoner to the Tower of London;" and on a fubfequent motion, which was carried only by a majority of twenty-two votes, That he should be expelled .

Expelled the house.

Committed to the Tower.

On the next morning, Walpole furrendered himself a prisoner, and was committed to the Tower. It was expected, that he would have petitioned, and submitted himself to the consure of the house; but he resused making any concession, which could imply a consciousness of guilt, and

<sup>\* 1</sup>st. 155 against 207, 2d. 148—205. 3d. 156—168. 4th. 148'—170. The motion of censure against the duke of Marlborough was carried by a much greater majority, 270 against 165.—Journals. † Journals.—Chandler's Debatest.

he therefore remained a prisoner until the prorogation of parliament. In the mean time a new writ print to 1713 being issued for Lynn, he was re-chosen for that borough; but a petition being made against the return, by Samuel Taylor, the opposing candidate, the commons resolved, "That having been expelled this house for an high breach of trust in the execution of his office, and notorious corruption, when secretary at war, he was incapable of being re-elected a member to serve in the present parliament \*.

While he remained a prisoner, he was considered visited by as a martyr to the cause of the Whigs, and repeat-persons of edly visited by persons of the highest distinction and abilities, particularly by the duke and duchess of Marlborough, Godolphin, Sunderland, Somers, and Pulteney; and his apartment exhibited the appearance of a crouded levee .

During his confinement, he had sufficient leisure Publishes his to compose a clear and judicious vindication of defence. himself, which was published under the title of "The Case of Mr. Walpole, in a Letter from a Tory Member of Parliament to his Friend in the Country." In this masterly defence, he fully justifies himself, and appeals to evidence, taken upon oath, against the two principal charges, high breach of trust, and notorious corruption. In regard to high breach of trust, he shews that he had no advantage in the contracts; that he was not the only person concerned in making them, and that they were

XX I published it in the 3 ear 1764 fettled

Journals .- Chandler's Debates.

<sup>†</sup> Life of the Duke of Shrewfbury.—Annals of Queen Anne, for 1712, p. 140.—Conduct of Mr. Walpole.—Answer to a scurrilous Libel.

Period I. 1676 to 1714. fettled on the best and most advantageous terms to be obtained at the time. In reply to the charge of notorious corruption, he proves that a share in the contract being given to his friend, Robert Mann, the contractors preferred paying him a sum of money in recompence for his share; that the contractor, who had negociated this bargain with Mann, dying, the other not knowing his name, made the note of hand payable to Walpole or order, for the use of his friend; that the note was endorsed by himself only for form, and the money received by Mann was for his own use and benefit, and that Walpole had not the least interest, directly or indirectly, in this affair.

I have been thus particular in stating the defence of Walpole, because it gives strong proofs of his innocence, and was never fairly and candidly answered; because some of the very persons who visited him in prison, and not only defended but applauded his condust in this instance, afterwards, when in opposition, reproached him with the commission of this very crime, of which they had publicly and formally absolved him; and because some late \* writers, of different principles, have stigmatised his memory, without having sufficiently examined his defence \*.

This

<sup>\*</sup> See Smollet, vol. 2. p. 209. Macpherson's History, vol. 2. p.

<sup>†</sup> For the investigation of this inquiry, in which the honcur and character of Sir Robert Walpole is involved, I have confulted and compared the Journals of the House of Commons, Proceedings in Parliament, Burnet, Tindal, Oldmixon, Case of Mr. Walpole, Conduct of Robert Walpole, esquire, and An Answer to the Character and Conduct of Robert Walpole, esquire, with an exact account of his popularity, published in 1717. In this last publication, the author endeavours to restute

65

This imprisonment has been called the prelude Chapter 6. to his rife; and lord Lansdowne, who was afterwards configned to the fame apartment, wrote these lines under Walpole's name; which he had left on the window:

1711 to 1713.

Good unexpected, evil unforeseen, Appear by turns, as fortune shifts the scene; Some rais'd aloft, come tumbling down amain, And fall fo hard, they bound and rife again \*.

A popular ballad, composed by Eastcourt the Eastcourt player, in honour of Walpole, during his impri-ballad. fonment, proves the high efteem in which he was then held by his party, and predicted, with a true prophetic spirit, his future greatness.

On the fewel in the Tower. 1

If what the Tower of London holds Is valu'd for more than its power; Then counting what it now enfolds, How wondrous rich is the fame Tower.

I think not of the armory, Nor of the guns and lion's roar, Nor yet the valu'd library; I mean the Jewel in the Tower.

refute Walpole's defence of himself, and to shew that the money paid to Mann was for Walpole himself, but as all his accusations amount to mere affertions and conjectures, without the smallest evidence of the fact, it is only here mentioned as a proof that I have not examined only one fide of the question.

\* Walpole's Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, V. II. p. 128.

Lansdowne's Poems.

VOL. I. of Mis ballad is incorrectly printed. a few of the errors.

Period I. 1676 to 1714.

3.

This jewel late adorn'd the court,
With excellence unknown before;
But now being blown upon, in fport,
This Jewel's case, is now the Tower.

4.

State lapidaries there have been,

To weigh and prove, and look it o'er;
The very fashion's worth being feen,
Th' intrinsic, more than is the Tower.

'Tis not St. George's diamond,
Nor any of his partner's ftore;
It never yet to fuch belong'd,
Which fent this Jewel to the Tower.

Who

6.

With thousand methods they did try it,
Whose firmness strengthen'd ev'ry hour;
They were not able all to buy it,
And so they sent it to the Tower.

7.

They would have prov'd it counterfeit,
That it was right 'twas truly fwore;
But oaths, nor words, cou'd nothing get,
And fo they fent it to the *Tower*.

8.

It's brilliant brightness who can doubt,
By Marlborough it was fometimes wore;
They turn'd the mighty master out,
Who turn'd this Jewel Ito the Tower.

9. These

Chapter 6.

9.

These are the marks upon it found,
King William's crest it bears before,
And Liberty's engraven round,
Though now confin'd within the Tower,

10.

Nor France in it an interest has, Nor Spain with all its golden ore; For to the queen and high allies, Belongs this Jewel in the Tower.

II.

The owners modeftly referv'd

It in a decent Norfolk bower,

And scarce yet think it has deserv'd

The Cæsar's honour of the Tower.

12.

The day shall come to make amends,
This Jewel shall with pride be wore,
And o'er his foes, and with his friends,
Shine glorious bright out of the Tower.

Lady Walpole \*, who had a pleasing voice, used to sing this ballad with great spirit and effect, and was particularly fond of dwelling on the last verse, at the time when the prophecy was sulfilled; when the prisoner

"O'er his foes, and with his friends,
"Shone glorious bright out of the Tower."

\* From Lord Orford.

Period I. 1676 to 1714.

#### CHAPTER THE SEVENTH:

# 1712-1714.

Released from his Imprisonment.—Exertions in favour of his Party.—
Publishes various political Pieces.—Eulogium of him, by Godolphin.—
Publishes the History of the late Parliament.—Re-elected for Lynn.—
Speaks against the Peace; the Treaty of Commerce; and the Schism
Bill:—In favour of Sir Richard Steele, for printing the Criss and the
Englishman.

1712. June 21. Released. THE ministry having protracted the fession by adjournment \*, instead of ending it by prorogation, merely to detain him in prison, Walpole was not released until the 8th of July. From that period till the diffolution, which took place on the 8th of August 1713, being incapacitated from ferving his party in the house of commons, he exerted himself in maintaining the union of the Whigs, in conciliating the leaders, often discordant in their opinions, jealous of each other, or lukewarm in their conduct. He was a principal director of their counsels, and the great manager of their deliberations. The magnanimity and cheerfulness with which he acted and suffered, his liberality in expending large fums in procuring intelligence, and promoting the Protestant succesfion, the hospitality with which he entertained his political affociates, endeared him to the party, animated their counsels, and contributed to preserve

<sup>\*</sup> Journals .- History of his Administration, p. 16.

them from defection. The heavy expences incurred by these means, injured his private fortune,
and involved him in pecuniary embarrassiments; a
circumstance which perhaps gave rise to, or at least
sanctioned the report, afterwards industriously circulated by opposition, of his being a needy adventurer, who had not credit enough to raise an hundred pounds on his own security \*. The gratitude
he afterwards displayed to those persons who accommodated him with money at a considerable
risk, does honour to his character.

During this period, he ably employed his pen Political in the service of his party. He affished Steele in publications. several political pamphlets +; and published an answer to the vote of the house of commons, that the states general had been descient in their proportion of troops, and that the queen had paid subsidies to the amount of three millions of crowns

His zeal and exertions were fo conspicuous, that september he received a flattering testimony of esteem, in a 1712 visit which he paid to Godolphin, while confined with his last illness at St. Alban's, in the house of the duchess of Marlborough. The dying statesman turning to the dutchess, who stood by his bedside, said to her, "If you ever forsake that young man, and if souls are permitted to return from the grave to the earth, I will appear to you and reproach you for your conduct 1."

above the fum stipulated.

<sup>\*</sup> Pulteney's Reply to Sedition and Defamation Displayed, p. 8.—An Answer to one Part of an Infamous Libel, &c. p. 34.

<sup>†</sup> Macpherson's Papers, vol. 2. p. 511. ‡ From the late earl of Orford.

Period I. The diffolution of the parliament at length tak-1676 to 1714 ing place, Walpole's incapacity was removed, and he was again chosen for Lynn. While the elections were depending, it was the opinion of Somers, and the Whig lords, that to state to the people, in a strong and perspicuous manner, the proceedings of the late parliament, with a view to expose the measures of the ministry, and to guide the electors in the choice of the new representatives. would be highly advantageous to their party. As no one feemed better calculated for this office than Walpole, he undertook a pamphlet, at their desire, on the Thursday, and published it on the Tuesday

Publishes the History of the last Parliament.

Venalis Populus, venalis Curia Patrum.

following \*, under the Title of, A Short History of

the Parliament, with the motto:

To this publication is prefixed, a dedication by Pulteney, then his coadjutor, composed in a strain of irony and humour peculiarly his own, and in which, though addressed to an anonymous peer, it was easy to perceive that the earl of Oxford was the object of allufion.

The pamphlet tends to prove, that the proceedings of the parliament had been directly contrary to the honour and advantage of England. The author defends the measures of the late administration with great ability; and after refuting the censures passed on Marlborough and Townshend, inftances his own case, and describes himself as

I published this pamphlet also in the year 1764, at the desir mr Walpole, the banker.

<sup>\*</sup> Article, Earl of Orford, in Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, in which many of his other pamphlets are enumerated.

Tharing the honour of an impeachment with those illustrious men. His animadversions on the con- 1713 to 1714. duct of the parliament, were made with fo much freedom and afperity, that it was not deemed prudent to entrust them to a common printer. Walpole himself, at a subsequent period, expresses the apprehensions of the danger he might have incurred, had the author been discovered. is a noble lord in the other house, who can, if he pleases, inform gentlemen, that the author of that history was fo apprehensive of the consequences of printing it, that the press was carried to his house, and the copies printed there \*."

In the new parliament, which met on the 16th of February, Walpole, deriving fresh lustre from his late temporary eclipse, diftinguished himself with more than usual ability. He warmly opposed the peace; the foundation of the South Sea company; the treaty of commerce with France; the fchism bill: and in all these instances he proved his confummate knowledge and experience in affairs of the most complicated nature, and greatly embarrassed the speakers on the side of government.

He was also particularly active in defence of Defence of Steele, who had rendered himself obnoxious to Steele, the ministers by his bold writings on the fide of the Whigs, and was accused by auditor Foley, Sir William Wyndham, and the Tories, of having published the Englishman and the Crisis,

rage

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1714.

<sup>\*</sup> Chandler's Debates, April 13, 1738 .- Probably the peer alluded to was lord Cobham.

1676 to 1714. rage of party was fo violent on this occasion, that an attempt was made to compel Steele to withdraw, without entering into his own defence, but

March 18.

this unjust proposition was over-ruled without a division, though it occasioned a debate of some length, in which Walpole took an active part. The motion, that he should be permitted to make his defence to the imputed libel, paragraph by paragraph, was, however, determined against him. He then entered on his defence, with a temper, modesty, and eloquence quite unusual to him, and continued speaking three hours. After he had withdrawn, no member on the fide of the miniftry attempted to answer him; and auditor Foley only observed, that without amusing the house with long speeches, it was plain to every body, that the writings complained of, were feditious and fcandalous, injurious to her majesty's government, the church, and the universities; and moved for the question. This motion occasioned a warm debate, in which Walpole bore the most active and principal share. Among other bold animadverfions, he observed, That this violent profecution struck at the liberties of the subject in general, and of the members of that house in particular; justified Mr. Steele on all the heads of the accusation raised against him; and said, he hoped the house would not facrifice one of their members to the refentment and rage of the ministry, for no other crime than exposing their mismanagements, and, like a good patriot, warning his countrymen against the imminent dangers with which the

the nation in general, and in particular her ma- Chapter 7. jesty's sacred person were threatened, by the visi-1713 to 1714. ble encouragement that was given to the Pretender's friends. In this defence, Walpole asked the house, "Why the author was answerable in parliament for the things which he wrote in his private capacity? And if he is punishable by law, why is he not left to the law? By this mode of proceeding, parliament, which used to be the scourge only of evil ministers, is made by ministers the scourge of the subject. The ministers, he added, are fufficiently armed with authority; they possess the great fanction of rewards and punishments, the disposal of the privy purse, the grace of pardoning, and the power of condemning to the pillory for feditious writings; powers confistent with, and naturally arising from their exalted fituation, and which they cannot too jealoufly guard from being perverted to answer indirect or criminal purposes. In former reigns, the audacity of corruption extended itself only to judges and juries; the attempt fo to degrade parliament was, till the present period, unheard of. The liberty of the press is unrestrained; how then shall a part of the legislature dare to punish that as a crime which is not declared to be fo by any law, framed by the whole? And why should that house be made the instrument of such a detestable purpose; that house, which had to boast the honourable distinction of being applied to, as the fource of redress, in all cases of oppression? Steele, he observed, has advanced nothing which bears a direct.

Period I.

direct criminal construction; nothing which can be construed into guilt without the assistance of forced inuendoes; and shall parliament assume the ungracious part of thus inferring guilt from mere arbitrary construction? If they do, what advantage to government or the community can be expected ro refult from fuch a measure? Are doctrines refuted, and truths suppressed, by being cenfured or stigmatized?—In the reign of James, it was criminal to fay, that the king was a Papist; but the feverity of the law, or the cruelty of its ministers, could not eradicate from the mind of a fingle individual, the confirmed belief of the fact. Steele is only attacked, because he is the advocate for the Protestant succession; the cause which he fo ably defends, gives the offence; through his tides the succession is to be wounded; his punishment will be a fymptom, that the fuccession is in danger; and the ministry are now feeling the pulse of parliament, to fee how far they may be able to proceed. Does Mr. Steele, he inquired, incur any blame for writing against Popery? In the reign of James, indeed, preaching against Popery was confidered as cafting a reflection on the ministry. But it was not fo in the reign of king William. From what fatality does it arife, that what is written in favour of the Protestant succession, and was countenanced by the late ministry, is deemed a libel on the present administration? General invectives in the pulpit against drinking, fornication, or any particular vice, have never been efteemed a reflection on particular persons, unless thefe

these persons are guilty of the darling sin against Chapter 7which the preacher inveighs. It becomes, then, a 1713 to 1714. fair inference, from their irritability and refentment against its defender, that the darling sin of the present administration is to obstruct the Protestant fuccession. If a Papist, nay an Irish Papist, who for many years has been a fervant to the late. king James, and the Pretender, (meaning Sir Patrick Lawless) one who has borne arms against her, majesty in France and Spain; one who is strongly fuspected of having embrued his hands in the blood of the late duke of Medina Celi, and marquis of Leganez; if fuch a man be not only permitted to come into England, but to appear at court, in the presence-chamber; if he be caressed. by the ministers; nay, I speak it with horror, if fuch a man be admitted into her majesty's private audience, in her closet, will not every good fubject think her person in danger? And is it. then a crime in Mr. Steele to shew his concern for fo precious a life?" \*

The ministers, however, carried their point; the Criss and Englishman were voted seditious libels, and Steele was expelled the house .

The speech of Walpole on this occasion procured him great applause; but the public did not know, that the defence made by Steele himself, was in a great degree the offspring of his eloquence;

<sup>\*</sup> The principal part of this speech is taken from memorandums, in the hand writing of Sir Robert Walpole: Orford Papers.—Chandler.

<sup>†</sup> Steele afterwards published, "An Apology for himself and his Writings occasioned by his Expulsion from the House of Commons," which, with a becoming gratitude, he dedicated to Walpole.

Period I. 1676 to 1714.

a fact related by bishop Newton, on the authority of Pulteney \*. " When Steele was to be ex-" pelled the house of commons, Mr. Walpole and " Mr. Pulteney, and Mr. Addison, were commis-"fioned to go to him, by the noblemen and " members of the Kit Kat Club, with their posi-"tive order and determination, that Steele should " not make his own speech, but Addison should " make it for him, and he should recite it from " the other's writing, without any infertion or ad-"dition of his own, Addison thought this an " hard injunction, and faid, that he must be like " a school-boy, and desire the gentlemen to give "him a little fense. Walpole said, that it was "impossible to speak a speech in cold blood; but " being preffed, he faid he would try, and imme-"diately spoke a very good speech of what he "thought proper for Steele to fay on the occa-" fion; and the next day in the house made an-"other speech as good, or better, on the same " fubject; but so totally different from the for-" mer, that there was scarce a fingle argument or "thought the fame; which particulars are men-"tioned as illustrious proofs of his uncommon " eloquence."

<sup>\*</sup> Life of Bishop Newton, by himself,

### CHAPTER THE EIGHTH:

## 1714.

Zeal of Walpole for the Hansver Succession .- Justification of his Conduct, on the Presumption that the Protestant Succession was in Danger .-Public Alarms and Apprehensions .- Death of Queen Anne.

THE great question, in which Walpole appears to have always exerted himself with unabated, zeal, was on the state of the nation with regard to the danger of the Protestant succession. In the course of this debate, Bromley, secretary of state, having attempted to prove the negative, by representing the endeavours of the queen to secure that object, and to remove the Pretender from Loraine; Walpole, with great spirit and warmth, Declares the avowed his opinion, that although the queen her-fuccession in self afforded no cause of apprehension, yet much dauger. was to be dreaded from the dubious conduct of fome persons, and therefore insisted that her name should not be introduced.

Chapter 8. 1714.

1714

The zeal of Walpole on this subject, was by no means adopted from a spirit of opposition, and was not a fudden fpark struck out by the circumstances of the moment: it was a leading principle which had regulated his political conduct from his first entrance into life; it had been instilled into him by education, and matured by reason and reflection, to which he uniformly adhered in all fituations and under all circumstances.

If his object in spreading these alarms was to Examination distress government, and to excite tumults against of his moPeriod I. 1676 to 1714.

the ministers, he acted a false and wicked part; but if he really had reason for his suspicions, he must be justified by every principle of attachment to the religion and constitution of the country. He can only be fully vindicated from the conviction, that it was the secret wish and resolution of the queen to exclude the Hanover family, and to restore the Pretender, and that the ministers were disposed to co-operate with her inclinations. At the period of which we are now speaking, the strongest suspicions were entertained, that such a scheme was in agitation, and those suspicions have been since verified by the most authentic documents.

Intrigues in favour of the Pretender.

It was natural to suppose, that as the queen had no furviving issue, her affection for her brother, of whose legitimacy she appears never to have entertained a doubt, would superfede her inclination to a foreign family. She had often declared that the did not confider the crown as her right, and the impressions of conscience naturally led her to atone for the wrongfulness of her possession, by permitting it to resume its ancient course of descent. In these ideas, she was encouraged by her favorite, Mrs. Masham; and when, by the intrigues of that artful woman, the chief impediment to her projects. the ascendancy of the Whig party, was removed, she entertained them with less referve, and employed herself assiduously to give them essect. Harley. who had fucceeded in dividing the Whigs, fo as to prevent them from exerting their united force in a confistent opposition, yet found he could not carry

1714-

on the government, and make a peace, without the Chapter 8. affiftance of the Jacobites: a direct communication was opened between the court of St. Germain's, and that of London; the Pretender addreffed a pathetic letter \* to the queen, urging his own right to the crown, in which every foothing effort of supplication and submission was employed, and every appeal made to family pride, to tenderness, and justice, which could be supposed to influence a mind naturally benevolent and just, and which was beginning, through lassitude and perplexity, to feek fome repose from the multiplied cares of a stormy government. Under these sinister auspices. the peace of Utrecht was made; a peace which confounded the characters of victors and vanquished, and in which the grand objects of the war were completely relinquished. The interests of the Pretender were kept in view, rather than those of the country, and the queen was anxious that the French king should not be deprived of the power of affording him effectual affiftance.

The establishment of the Protestant religion was the only motive which could counteract the bias of the queen's mind in favour of her brother. The influence of that confideration was much diminished by her dislike to the family destined to succeed her; a prejudice which induced her to refift all approach of them to her person, and to oppose the applications of the electress Sophia, for a writ to call up the electoral prince to the house of

<sup>\*</sup> Macpherson's Papers, vol. 2.

peers; a prejudice fo well known to those who post-1676 to 1714 fessed her confidence, that Mrs. Masham made no scruple to declare to the French minister, whom Louis the Fourteenth sent to treat for peace, that the Hanover family was all their aversion \*, and that it was the wish of the queen, that matters should be so arranged that justice might at some time take place. Those who favoured the cause of the Pretender, were fo anxious to avail themfelves of these favourable appearances, that they advised him, either in shew, or in fact, to renounce his religion, to withdraw himself from the protection of the French king, to marry a Protestant, and reside in Sweden. Matters were carried so far. that some of his fanguine partisans advised him to go to Scotland, and others even projected a plan for his being presented by the queen to the parliament, and publicly acknowledged as her fucceffor . Meetings were also held, both in town and country, to promote the repeal of the act of fettlement, and to vest in the queen the power of nominating a fucceffor. These schemes were directly over-ruled, or indirectly counteracted by Harley, who, notwithstanding his junction with the Jacobites, for the fole purpose of making a peace, and maintaining his ground against the Whigs, does not appear ever to have wished to frustrate the provisions of the act of settlement. His conduct at length made fuch an impression on that party, that through their intrigues he was

<sup>\*</sup> Macpherson's Papers, vol, 2. † See Memoires de Berwick.

dismissed from administration, on a suspicion of Chapter 8. lukewarmness or duplicity, and Bolingbroke, who was supposed to be more implicitly devoted to their interests, was recommended as his successor by the duke of Berwick, natural fon of James the Second, and the Pretender's agent with the difaffected in England.

These intrigues were too public and notorious The Whigs to escape the knowledge of the friends to the Pro- apprized of these intrigues. testant succession; Sir Robert Walpole \*, in the latter period of his life, frequently declared that the leaders of the Whigs were fully apprized of them, and that he, in particular, drew his information from two persons who were present at a meeting in the country between the chiefs of the ministry and the leading men of both houses. Their deliberations turned on the manner of invalidating or repealing the act of fuccession. An actual repeal, and a positive declaration of the Pretender's right, was moved by some: it was recommended by others, to leave to the queen a full power to nominate her fucceffor by will.

Those who treat the danger of the Protestant Arguments of fuccession as chimerical, observe in reply to these the other party. inferences, that from the time of the Revolution. many of the ministers had corresponded with the Pretender and his family; some of them with the connivance of the fovereign on the throne, and probably with a view of discovering the schemes of the Jacobites. On fimilar principles it may be

<sup>\*</sup> Etough's Minutes of a Conference with Horace Walpole, at Putney, August 6 and 20, 4752.

VOL. I. conjectured,

Period I.

conjectured, that Bolingbroke \* and Ormond \$676 to 1714 might also have caballed with Berwick and the agents of the Pretender, with a view only of obtaining the difmission of Oxford, and the support of the Jacobites; and might, as foon as they had fecured themselves in their places, have followed the example of Oxford. In corroboration of this argument, it appears from a letter of Erasmus Lewis to Swift &, that Bolingbroke, at this period, courted the principal leaders of the Whigs, and Walpole ; himself admitted that Bolingbroke had held a meeting with them for the purpose of arranging the terms of a coalition, at which he gave the most positive assurances of his good wishes to the Protestant succession; but when it was insisted, that as a proof of his fincerity, the Pretender should be removed to fuch a distance as would prevent his interference in the affairs of England, he declared his inability to obtain the confent of the queen, to what she deemed the banishment of her brother. To attempt to fathom the politics, and unquestionably trace the designs of the artful and unprincipled Bolingbroke, would be difficult, even at this time, when party prejudices have fubfided, and when many lights have been thrown on his conduct. But at the period here alluded to, the talk was impracticable. How could the Whigs discriminate whether his intrigues with Marlborough, and his attempts to open a negotiation with

See Macpherson's Papers, vol. 2. p. 529-534.

<sup>+</sup> Swift's Letters, vol. 1. Letter 150.

I Etough's minute's of a conference with Sir R. Walpole.

· fome of their leaders, were intended merely to counteract the defigns of Oxford, or to deceive them; or whether his correspondence with Berwick and the Pretender, was carried on with the view to promote or frustrate their schemes?

Chapter 8. 1714.

But fuch conjectures do not strictly apply to the Refuted question in agitation, Whether intrigues were not employed to fet afide the Hanover line, and to induce the queen to affift in placing the Pretender on the throne? That simple fact is incontrovertible, and affords a justification of the Whigs, and of those Tories who were friends to the Hanover line, that having knowledge of fuch cabals, or even entertaining strong prefumptions of them, they should use every means to defeat those attempts. They were bound in duty to propose such strong measures as would awaken the Protestants to a fense of their danger, and force the queen and ministry to consent to such acts, as were most likely to fecure the fuccession; and they were to come forwards repeatedly and continually, that the passions of men might not be fuffered to fleep, and that the danger might be made manifest to the discernment of the public. They are therefore fufficiently Friends of the vindicated for fetting a price on the Pretender's dicated, head; for confulting with the agents of Hanover; for advising Baron Schutz to demand the writ for the electoral prince to be called to the house of peers, and for infifting that he should be permitted to refide in London, although Oxford told the duke of Kent, that to bring over one of the electoral family, would be to expose the queen's coffin to her view.

Period I.

of affairs.

The last fix months of the reign of Anne, was 1676 to 1714 a fearful period; big with alarms, during which Alarming state the kingdom stood on the " perilous edge \*" of domestic commotions and foreign invasion. The nation was divided into three parties, each differently interested in regard to the Hanover line. The Jacobites, hostile and exulting; the Tories, disaffected, neutral, or lukewarm; the Whigs, always active, yet occasionally desponding, anxious to avoid a civil war, yet determined to hazard their lives and fortunes in support of their religion and constitution; and it is impossible to read the Stuart and Hanover Papers, in Macpherson's Collection for 1714, and the Memoirs of Berwick, and of the duke of Hamilton, without shuddering at the dangers which feemed likely to burst forth from the violence of those parties, and the collision of discordant opinions.

> The earl of Chesterfield + was firmly convinced. that if the queen had lived three months longer, the religion and liberties of this country would have been in imminent danger. The patience of the Whigs was nearly exhaufted; their apprehensions increased, and they were induced to form affociations for the protection of their religion and liberties; the people caught the alarm; many of the Tories began to fee the danger, and to act in conjunction with the Whigs for the general fecurity.

At this important crisis, the queen was seized with a fudden stroke of apoplexy, which took away

<sup>†</sup> Life of Lord Chestersield, p. 13.-Letter to Mr. Jumeau.

1714-

her fenses, and foon occasioned her death. Although she had dismissed Oxford, she had not yet nominated his fucceffor; and while Bolingbroke and his party were wavering, the dukes of Argyle and Somerfet entered the council chamber without being fummoned, and moved for an examination of the physicians. The queen being pronounced in great danger, they represented that it was neceffary to fill up the place of lord treasurer, and the duke of Shrewibury was proposed. The whole board affenting, the queen, during a fucid interval, delivered to him the white staff. The privy counsellors being fummoned, Somers, and other friends to the Protestant succession, made their appearance \*; and every precaution was taken to quiet the public mind, and to ensure the accession of the elector of Hanover. Anne expired on the Death of first of August 1714; and Bolingbroke expresses Queen Anne, himself in a + letter to Swift, dated August 3; "The earl of Oxford was removed on Tuesday; the queen died on Sunday. What a world is this, and how does fortune banter us!"

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<sup>.</sup> Tindal.

<sup>+</sup> Swift's Letters, vol. 1. p. 507.

### PERIOD THE SECOND:

From the Accession of George the First, to the Commencement of the South Sea Scheme:

1714-1720.

### CHAPTER THE NINTH:

General State of the European Powers at the Death of Queen Anne, with respect to their Inclination or Capacity to promote or obstruct the Acception of George the First.—State of Great Britain.—Character of George the First—not calculated to promote his Cause.

Period II. 1714 to 1720. O Prince ever ascended a throne under more critical circumstances, and with less appearance of a quiet reign, than George the First; whether we consider the state of the European powers, the situation of parties in Great Britain, or his own character.

State of Europe. Most of the European powers were at this critical juncture, from motives of prejudice, alliance, or personal dislike, averse to the interests of the elector of Hanover; and those who had not taken a decided part against him, with the exception of Prussia and Holland alone, were indifferent, or incapable of shewing their friendship.

France.

Although Louis the Fourteenth had guaranteed, at the peace of Utrecht, the right of the house of Hanover to the crown of Great Britain, and on the demise of Anne had acknowledged George the First, yet it was well known that his attachment to

the

the Roman Catholic religion, his jealousy of Eng- Chapter 9. land, and a spirit of magnanimity which he greatly affected, would lead him to affift, if poffible, the unfortunate prince, whom he had once publicly received as the lawful successor of James the Second. Though too much exhaufted by the late war, to follow his inclinations by an active interference, he connived at the preparations making by the Pretender within his dominions; and should any domestic infurrections take place, so as to give hopes of fuccess, he was ready to pour in the whole force of France to promote a restoration.

Spain, at this period, was little more than a pro-Spain. vince of France, and her fovereign Philip the Fifth acted in perfect subordination to the will of his grandfather Louis the Fourteenth, to whose affistance he was principally indebted for the crown. He nourished a violent antipathy to the elector of Hanover, and though prudence and necessity induced him to acknowledge him king of Great Britain, yet his principles and wishes inclined him to favour the Stuarts.

John the Fifth reigned in Portugal, a prince Portugal, who possessed greater talents and activity than any of the fovereigns of the line of Braganza. was already involved in a war with Spain, and though he had fome confidence in the promifes of affiftance from George, yet he depended more on the mediation of France, and was, of course, liable to be biassed by the cabinet of Versailles.

The emperor Charles the Sixth, the head of the The Emperor house of Austria, disappointed as well as incensed

Period IV. at the manner in which the peace of Utrecht had 1714 to 1720. been concluded, maintained a gloomy referve with respect to the affairs of England, and might fairly be supposed rather inimical than otherwise to the interests of George, whose growing influence in Germany, he watched with a jealous circumspection. He well knew that the party in England, which favoured the accession of the house of Brunfwick, was extremely weak, and believed that the Elector himself was indifferent to his elevation: on these accounts he was unwilling to offend his competitor by too great an opposition to his interest \*. In consequence of these motives, he refused +, at the peace at Rastadt, to guaranty the fuccession of the family of George the First to the crown of Great Britain.

Pruffia.

The most powerful among the German princes was Frederic William king of Pruffia, who was included in the entail of the act of fettlement. and who had espoused Sophia Dorothea, the daughter of George the First. Upon the first news of Anne's illness, he repaired to Hanover, and affured his father-in-law, the elector, that he would affift him with all his forces to maintain his title to the British throne. But the Prussian monarch had not yet established, on a firm basis, his great fystem of military tactics, and his whole force could only tend to preserve the electorate of Hanover, without affording any effectual affiftance to

Macpherson's State Papers, vol. 2. p. 638.

<sup>†</sup> Lord Townshend to Count Starenberg; Goerde, October 24, 2725.

the king of Great Britain for refifting external ene- Chapter o.

mies, or curbing internal opposition.

1714.

The United Provinces, enfeebled by exertions Holland, above their strength, bending under a vast load of debt, confidering themselves shamefully deserted by England, and unwilling to contract new engagements which might again expose them to fresh dangers and new debts, yet alone acted with fincerity and spirit, Conscious that the restoration of the Pretender would be followed by a strict union between France and England, which might prove destructive to their interests, they promoted, to the utmost of their power, the accession of George the First, and received him, as he passed through their country to take possession of his throne, with every demonstration of respect and affection.

Ruffia was just emerging from Afiatic indolence Ruffia and barbarity, and rifing into importance under the amazing efforts of Peter the Great, who already entertained those jealousies against George the First, which afterwards nearly broke out into open hostilities. But at present he was engaged in a war with Sweden and Turkey; and was not in a fituation either to obstruct or assist the accession.

Sweden, involved in a deftructive war with Ruf- Sweden fia, Denmark, and Poland, in which she had lost her fairest provinces, and seen her veteran foldiers either exterminated or taken prisoners, was no longer in that proud fituation which enabled her to give law to the north. Irritated against George the First for the claims which he had begun to make on Bremen and Verden, Charles the Twelfth

would

Period II. would have opposed his accession, if his circumfrances and fituation had permitted. But he was at this critical moment resident in Turkey, uselessly displaying those instances of romantic bravery and inflexible obstinacy, which characterised rather the leader of a favage horde of Tartars, than a fovereign of a great and civilized people.

Denmark.

Denmark, under the wife administration of Frederic the Fourth, was just beginning to recover from the deep wounds inflicted by a long war with Sweden, which still continued; her commerce languishing, and the resources of the state almost exhausted. The king might consider the accession of his ally, who had long aspired to share the spoils of Sweden, a fortunate occurrence. But Denmark was more likely to require affiftance from George, than George to receive any effectual fuccour from Denmark. Frederic was at the best but a passive friend, and only in a situation to defend his own territories and conquests.

Poland:

Poland, under the feeble domination of an elective monarch, was declining fast in the political scale of Europe. Augustus the Second was almost a cypher, totally governed by Peter the Great, to whom he owed his re-establishment, and in no respect sufficiently considerable to affect the succesfion in England.

Italy.

The finall fovereignties, and petty republics of Italy, were of little confideration.

The Pope.

The Pope, no longer a great temporal prince, took no active share in the general affairs of Europe. Clement the Eleventh, however inclined to

favour

favour the Pretender, possessed neither influence Chapter o. or strength sufficient to obstruct the succession of the Protestant line; he could only offer an asylum to a prince, whose father had facrificed his crown to his religion; and who, after being driven from place to place as an outcast from society, thought himself fortunate in being permitted to hide his profcribed head within the capital of the ecclefiastical dominions.

1714-

Savoy and Piedmont, from their critical fitua- Savoy and tion between France and the Milanese, and from Piedmont, the transcendent talents and military skill of several fovereigns, particularly Emanuel Philibert, and Charles Emanuel the First, had risen from a petty principality into confequence. Victor Amadeus, the reigning prince, no less ambitious and enterprifing than his great predeceffors, had followed their policy, in felling himself to those who bid highest for his assistance and alliance, and in making gradually fmall acquifitions, which increafed his strength, without giving umbrage to his neighbours, acting in conformity to a proverb, which he is faid to have applied to the Milanese: "I must " acquire the Milanese province by province, as I " eat the leaves of an artichoke."

Of all the European fovereigns who had acceded to the grand alliance, Victor Amadeus alone had reason to be contented with the measures of the British cabinet. Anne had zealously exerted herfelf in his favour, and obtained for him, at the peace of Utrecht, the kingdom of Sicily; that part of the duchies of Montferrat and Milan, by the

ceffion

Period II. ceffion of which Leopold had detached him from 1714 to 1720. France, and the guaranty of the fuccession to the crown of Spain, on the failure of the male line of Philip the Fifth. Yet these important advantages had not fatisfied the aspiring views of Victor Amadeus. His confort, Anna Maria, granddaughter of Charles the First of England, and the next in succession after the children of James the Second, had protefted against the act of settlement, as contrary to her right by hereditary descent; and he confidered the elector of Hanover as usurping 2 crown which belonged to his fon. He, therefore, looked with an evil eye on the peaceful acceffion of George the First, and with that versatility of politics that marked his character, was already meditating a return to his old alliance with France, which he afterwards effected.

Such was the general fituation of Europe at the death of queen Anne; George had more enemies than friends, and his fole dependance was placed on the spirit and vigour of his partifans in England; but the state of this country was not fuch as to augur fuccess.

State of par-

The reigns of his two immediate predecessors had been stormy, distracted with factions, and. opened a gloomy prospect of a new reign, under a foreign fovereign. The contending political parties, exasperated by long opposition, and all the injuries attending alternate elevation and depression, expressed their rancour in mutual accufation and virulent reproach.

The '

1714-

The Tories, who, though extremely powerful, both in respect of numbers and property, were censurable for their arrogance, in pronouncing themselves, exclusively, the landholders and proprietors of the kingdom, reviled their opponents as a faction which leaned for support on the enemies of the church and monarchy, and on the bank, and monied interest, which was as they said, raised by usury, and sounded on corruption.

The Whigs retaliated by charging the Tories, who formed the bulk of the nation, and included most of the country gentlemen and parochial clergy, with an attachment to the French, and hatred of the Dutch; with all the crimes with which they loaded the framers of the peace of Utrecht, and with favouring the interests of Louis the Fourteenth, because he supported their idol the Pretender. It is a great injustice, however, to confound, as they did, the characters of the Tories and Jacobites; for although many of the Tories had, from motives of pique or disappointed ambition, as well as from affection, corresponded with the court of St. Germains, yet it did not follow that they all uniformly entertained the scheme of restoring the dethroned family. The inculpation however was not divested of all shew of truth; the general principles of the Tories tended strongly to enforce passive obedience and non-refistance, and as they disapproved the doctrines which occasioned the revolution, censured by implication the Protestant succession. The Jacobites too, disappointed in their towering hopes, favoured 711

Period II.

favoured this popular misapprehension, by endea-1714 to 1720. vouring to connect the cause and opinions of the Tories with their own. The strong feature of diftinction between the Whigs and Tories was, that the Tories were willing to have affented to the refumption of the crown by the Pretender, if he would have embraced the Protestant persuasion; while the Whigs, armed with just diffidence and diffruft, and confidering the political principles in which he had been educated, no less hostile to their liberties, than his faith was to their religious perfuasion, would admit of no compromise, nor on any terms agree to his restoration.

> The Tories were reinforced by the Jacobites, who possessed great credit abroad, and influence at home; who had acquired an unlimited ascendancy in the Clans of Scotland, full of refentment at the act of union, and amongst the Papists of Ireland, who formed the bulk of that kingdom, and were attached to their cause by every tie of religious confideration. The Whigs, to balance the influence of the Jacobites and Catholics, had the affiftance of the whole body of Diffenters, who, irritated at the feverity of the schism bill, passed under the influence of the Tories, hoped, from a Protestant monarch, and a Whig administration, a repeal of that law.

> The Whigs now raifed themselves from the despondency into which they had been thrown by the measures of the four last years of the queen, and hailed the new reign as the commencement of their triumph. The Tories, divided and irre-

> > folute.

folute, concealed their chagrin in a shew of submission, while they meditated new manœuvres for the attainment of power; and the Jacobites, precipitated from the exultation of hope too fondly indulged, submitted for the present, but resolved to embrace the first opportunity of breaking into open rebellion.

George the First, who, by the death of his Character of mother, the electress Sophia\*, succeeded to the First. throne of Great Britain, in virtue of the act of Settlement, was ill calculated by nature, difpofition, and habit, to reconcile these jarring parties, and remove the unfavourable impressions, which it was natural for all people to entertain of a foreigner. destined to rule over them. He was already fiftyfour years of age, and had been long habituated to a court of a different description from that of England, to manners and customs wholly repugnant to those of his new subjects. He was below the middle stature, and his person, though well proportioned, did not impress dignity or respect. His countenance was benign, but without much expression; and his address aukward. He was easy and familiar only in his hours of relaxation, and to those alone who formed his usual society; not fond of attracting notice, phlegmatic and grave in his public deportment, hating the splendour of majesty, shunning crouds, and fatigued even with the first acclamations of the multitude. This

<sup>\*</sup> Sophia, grand daughter of James the First, and widow of Ernest Augustus, elector of Hanover, died the 8th of June, 1714, only two months before queen Anne, in the 84th year of her age.

Period It, natural referve was heightened by his ignorance 1714 to 1720. of the language, of the first principles of the English constitution, and of the spirit and temper of the people. Without taste for the fine arts, except music, or the smallest inclination for polite literature, men of talents had no reason to expect from his influence, that patronage which had attended them in the preceding reign.

> It was currently reported that measures were preparing to evade the laws which excluded foreigners from honours and employments. The example of William was not forgotten, who by his largesses to Bentinck, Zulestein, and Keppel, had given fo much umbrage, and George had feveral mistresses, of whom two the most favoured were expected to accompany him to England, with a numerous train of Hanoverian followers, eager to share the spoils of the promised land; to fet up a court within a court, and an interest opposite to the true interest of England. It was also maliciously circulated, that he was \* indifferent to his own fuccession, and scarcely willing to stretch out a hand to grasp the crown within his reach; a report which materially leffened his influence in foreign courts, and tended to produce reciprocal indifference in the English. But he had excellent qualities for a fovereign, plainness of manners, simplicity of character, and benignity of temper; great application to bufinefs, extreme exactness in distributing his time, the

<sup>\*</sup> Macpherson, vol. 2. p. 638.

strictest economy in regulating his revenue; and, notwithstanding his military skill and tried valour, a love of peace; virtues, however, which required time before they were appreciated, and not of that specious cast to captivate the multitude, or to raise the tide of popularity.

From this representation, it appears that few circumstances concurred to favour his quiet accession; yet no son ever succeeded his father on the throne, after an uninterrupted succession of a long line of ancestors, with greater tranquillity than George the First. This success was principally owing to the abilities, prudence, activity, and foresight of the great Whigs, and to the precautions which they had always taken, and now took, to promote the succession in the Pro-

testant line, with whom the Hanoverian agents in London concerted their mode of conduct, and to whom the elector from the first news he received of the queen's death, wholly resigned himChapter 9.

VOL. I.

felf and his cause.

Period II. 1714 to 1720.

#### CHAPTER THE TENTH:

## 1714.

Proceedings in Parliament on the Death of Queen Anne.—Accession of George the First.—Transactions at Hanover.—Artful Policy of the King, in his Conduct to the Two Parties.—His Arrival in England.
—Formation of a Whig Ministry.—Walpole Paymaster of the Forces.—
Inveteracy of Parties.

Proceedings on the death of the queen. THE queen had no fooner expired, than the great officers of the realm, in whom the regency bill had vested the executive power, together with certain peers, appointed by the elector of Hanover, in three instruments written by himself, took upon themselves, as lords justices, the administration of affairs till the arrival of the new sovereign, and summoned the privy council.

Proclamation of king George.

George was proclaimed king, with the usual follomnities, in the cities of London and Westminster; no disorder was committed, or opposition made, and the earl of Dorset was dispatched to carry to Hanover the news of his inauguration, and to attend him to England. The proclamation took place with equal tranquillity at Edinburgh and Dublin.

August 1.
Meeting of
Parliament.

On the Sunday, when the queen died, the parliament met pursuant to the act which regulated the fuccession. Sir Thomas Hanmer, the speaker, being absent, Bromley, secretary of state, moved that the house should adjourn to Wednesday; but Sir Richard Onslow opposing this motion, from

the confideration that time was too precious to be Chapter 10. lost at so critical a juncture, proposed, that the house should adjourn only to the following morning, which was carried. The three fucceeding days being occupied in taking the oaths, on the 5th the lords justices came to the house of peers, and the chancellor, in their name, made a speech, declaring that they had, in virtue of the act of fettlement, and in conjunction with the privy council, proclaimed the elector of Hanover king; and as feveral branches of the public revenue had expired by the demise of the queen, recommended the house of commons to make such provisions as were requisite to support the dignity and hopour of the crown \*.

Both houses unanimously agreed to addresses of condolence for the death of queen Anne, and of congratulation on the accession of the king; and when, in the house of commons, the secretary of state, in moving the address, expatiated on the great lofs which the nation had fustained, Wal-Walpole suppole feconded the motion, but proposed " to add ports the motion for fomething more fubstantial than words, by giving an address. affurances of making good all parliamentary funds." Onflow, member for Surry, also observed, that the force of the address ought to consist, not in condolence only, but congratulations, and in affuring the king of their firm resolution to support his undoubted title to the crown, and to maintain

<sup>\*</sup> Journals.

Period II.

the public credit. The Whigs acted with extra-1714 to 1720. ordinary prudence at this crifis: For when the renewal of the civil lift was brought into the lower house, the Tories, under pretence of extraordinary zeal for the new government, proposed one million, which was f. 300,000 more than the revenue of the late queen. But the king's friends, apprehensive that the Tories acted insidiously, either with a view to conciliate favour, or for the purpose of reproaching him afterwards, as oppressing the nation by a higher revenue than his predeceffor had enjoyed, did not fecond the motion, and it was dropped. A bill passed, fixing the same fum which had been granted in the last reign, with two additional clauses, moved by Horace Walpole, for the payment of arrears due to the troops of Hanover, and for a reward of f. 100,000, from the treasury, to any person apprehending the Pretender, if he should attempt to land in any part of the British dominions.

The king's answer to the addieffes.

The king having returned an answer to the addreffes, the lords justices came again to the house of peers on the 23d of August, and the chancellor intimated his majesty's great satisfaction at the loyalty and affection which his fubjects had difplayed: other loyal addresses were made in reply; the royal affent was given by the lords justices to the money bills, and parliament prorogued to the 23d of September. Thus ended a fession, which was conducted with a degree of tranquillity and unanimity long unknown to their proceedings, and feemed

feemed to give a happy omen of a quiet and prof- Chapter 10. 1714.

perous reign \*.

During these transactions, the eyes of Europe Transactions and the expectations of England were naturally at Hanover. directed to Hanover. On the 26th of July, the earl of Clarendon, a zealous Tory, who was appointed envoy extraordinary from the queen, had arrived in that capital; but it was not till the 4th of August that he received his first audience at the palace of Herenhausen. At this interview the elector affected to repose the highest confidence in the promifes of the queen, expressed a fense of the obligations which his family owed to her, and professed himself unacquainted with the demand made by the electress, of the writ for calling his fon to the house of peers . Craggs, who had been fent with an account of the queen's dangerous illness, arrived there on the 27th, and instantly went to Herenhausen with the letter from the privy council; and on the fame night three ! other expresses came over, two to the king, and one to Clarendon, with the news of the queen's death. On the receipt of this intelligence, the king fummoned his council; and baron Polnitz, who was at Hanover, adds, " many people were pleafed to fay, that the elector hefitated whether he should accept of the august dignity; but for my part, I fancy that the voyage to England was

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<sup>\*</sup> Journals .- Political State of Great Britain .- Chandler .- Tin-

<sup>+</sup> Correspondence, Period 2d. Clarendon's Letter to Bromley-August 7th.

I Tindal, v. 18, p. 388.

Period II. more the subject of the council's deliberation, than 1714 to 1720 the question whether the crown should be accepted \*."

When the council was over, he was complimented on his accession; and gave orders to make preparations for his departure, which he judiciously delayed, that he might obtain from England such information as would assist him in the difficult task of forming a new administration, which he managed with great prudence and dexterity.

Prudent conduct of the king.

George had already conducted himself with so much address, that Clarendon does not appear to have entertained the smallest suspicion of any difinclination to the Tories; and Bernsdorf and Goertz, his two principal ministers at Hanover, corresponded respectively with each party. Bernsdorf countenanced the Whigs, Goertz the Tories, fo that each party entertained hopes of being called into office. The expectations of the Tories were still farther raised by the conduct of Halifax, who, disappointed of the office of lord high treasurer, by the influence of Townshend, proposed the formation of a motley ministry, recommending, among other Tories, Bromley to be chancellor of the exchequer, and Sir Thomas Hanmer one of the tellers. The hope that the king would accede to this, or fome other arrangement, and their "dependance on real credit and substantial power under the new government +," kept the Tories in fufpense, and prevented their opposing his establish.

<sup>\*</sup> Memoirs of Polnitz: Article Hanover.

<sup>†</sup> Bolingbroke's Letter to Sir William Wyndham.

1714.

ment. Yet, though the king did not feem averse Chapter 10. to their cause, he appears at that very time to have formed, with the advice of Bothmar, his agent in London, an administration entirely of Whigs, but of this he gave no public indication till after his arrival at the Hague, which occasioned a report, that he was not before decided from which party he should select a cabinet. At the Hague, the ascendancy of the Whigs was manifest, by the public appointment of Townshend to be secretary of state, with the power of nominating his colleague. In fact, Horace Walpole \*, the brotherin-law and confidential fecretary of lord Townshend, by whose recommendation Stanhope was afterwards affociated with Townshend as secretary, positively denies that it was ever the king's intention to form a Tory administration.

The most agreeable accounts being transmitted by Bothmar, that things wore a favourable appearance, the king continued a fortnight at the Hague, receiving the affectionate congratulations of the States, and the compliments of the foreign ministers, and settling with the Whigs the mode of his future conduct, and the members of the new administration to be appointed on his arrival in England.

At fix in the afternoon, on the 18th of Sep-Arrival of the tember, amidst a large concourse of nobility and king. gentry, GEORGE THE FIRST landed at Greenwich. He particularly diffinguished the Whig lords,

did

<sup>\*</sup> Letter to Etough, September 21, 1752. Correspondence, Period II.

Period II. did not pay the smallest attention to Ormond 1714 to 1720 and Harcourt, and only flightingly noticed Oxford, who was on the following morning admitted to kifs his hand.

New ministry. The appointment of the new administration had been already announced by previous arrangements. The lords of the regency declared Addifon their fecretary, and ordered all dispatches to be forwarded to him; to the great mortification of Bolingbroke, who was obliged to stand at the door of the council with his papers, without obtaining admittance. On the 28th of August, an express had arrived from Hanover, bearing orders from the king for removing Bolingbroke from his office of fecretary of state; the dismission was attended with evident marks of displeasure from the lords of the regency, Shrewsbury, Somerset, and Cowper taking the feals, and locking the doors of his office; and on the 17th of September, before the king's arrival, Townshend was fworn principal fecretary of state in his place. Stanhope was appointed the other fecretary; Cowper, lord chancellor; Marlborough, commander in chief; Wharton, privy feal; Sunderland, lord lieutenant of Ireland; Halifax, first lord commissioner of the treasury; Devonshire, lord steward of the household; Orford, first lord commissioner of the admiralty; Somerset, master of the horse; Walpole, paymaster of the forces, and many of his friends provided for in subordinate offices. The principal employments were filled with Whigs; Shrewsbury, who had been the oftensible means

1714.

of defeating the schemes of Bolingbroke, having refigned the high trusts of lord treasurer, and lord, lieutenant of Ireland, was constituted groom of the stole; and the only Tory who was admitted into a high department, and treated with any degree of confidence, was Nottingham, who was declared prefident of the council. A new privy council was appointed, and a cabinet formed, confifting principally of Marlborough, Nottingham, Sunderland, Halifax, Townshend, Cowper, Stanhope, and Somers, who, on account of his increasing infirmities, was incapable of filling any active department.

The king, or rather Townshend and Walpole, to whom the formation of the new ministry was principally attributed, have been feverely cenfured for excluding the Tories, and confining all places of trust and confidence exclusively to the Whigs, thus making the monarch the leader of a party, instead of fovereign of his people at large.

It may not be improper to remark, that in Inveteracy of treating of past events, writers are too apt to parties, form a judgment of things according to principles of theoretical justice or fancied persection, without confidering the temper of the times, or making fufficient allowance for the powerful operation of opinions and prejudices, When we confult contemporary accounts, we find that for great was the inveteracy which fublisted between the Whigs and Tories, that neither would have been content with less than the whole power; and fuch was the temper of the nation at the time

time of the king's accession, and the animosity 1714 to 1720. derived from the clash of civil and religious opinions, that it would have been impracticable to form a stable coalition between the two parties. In fact, the scheme of uniting the Whigs and Tories was incompatible; for even fo late as 1742, when Pulteney attempted to form his new administration on an extended and liberal principle, he would not venture to introduce many Tories; he declared that the basis of the ministry must be a Whig trunk engrafted with Tory branches; and that gradually the grafts would become more and more numerous and thriving. Nor was it till 1744, when the junction ludicroufly called the Broad Bottom was arranged, that the great bodies of Whigs and Tories could be brought to coalesce.

#### CHAPTER THE ELEVENTH:

# 1714-1716.

Rife and Character of Lord Townshend.—Intimacy with Walpole.—
Meeting of the new Parliament.—Walpole takes the Lead.—Draws up the Report of the secret Committee.—Manages the Impeachment of Bolingbroke—Ormond and Oxford.—Motives for that Conduct.—
Rebellion.—His Activity and Services.—Appointed First Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer.—Proceedings in Parliament.—Trial and Execution of the Rebels.

Character of lord Townsbend. CHARLES Viscount Townshend, who now took the lead in the administration, was eldest son of Sir Horatio Townshend, who was so highly instrumental in forwarding the restoration of Charles

the Second, that in 1661 he was created a peer, Chapter 17. and in 1682 raifed to the dignity of Viscount. 1714 to 1716. Charles took his feat in the house of peers in 1697, attached himself to Somers, and acted so cordially with the Whigs, that when William formed a new administration, principally composed of that party, a rumour was circulated, that he was appointed privy feal \*. In 1706, he was nominated one of the commissioners for settling the union with Scotland; in 1707, captain of the yeomen of the queen's guard, and in 1709, accompanied the duke of Marlborough to Gertruydenberg, as joint plenipotentiary, to open a negotiation for peace with France; he was deputed in the same year ambassador extraordinary to the states general, and concluded with them the barrier treaty. Soon after the change of the Whig administration he refigned his embaffy, was removed from his post of captain of the yeomen, and cenfured by the Tory house of commons for having figned that treaty, During the early part of the reign of queen Anne, on account of his youth, he had acted only a fubordinate part; but towards the close of that reign, his fervices and decifive conduct raifed his confequence, and he gained great accession of character, with his party, on being profecuted at the fame time with the duke of Marlborough.

With parts more folid than specious, Townshend acquired unremitted assiduity, and from long

<sup>\*</sup> Letter from Henry Bland to Robert Walpole, February 3, 1701-2. Orford Papers.

Périod II. 1714 to 1720.

experience, the talent that rendered him an able man of business, which was the principal object of his ambition. Though plain in his language, and often perplexed in argument, yet he spoke sensibly, and with a thorough knowledge of his subject \*. He was firm, generous, disinterested, of unblemished integrity, and unfulled honour: but he was warm, impetuous, and impatient of contradiction. Initiated in diplomatic transactions during the congress at Gertruydenberg and the Hague, he cherished too great an attachment to negotiation, and was apt to propose bold and decisive measures, which the temperate and pacific disposition of Walpole was continually employed in counteracting.

During the two months which immediately preceded the queen's death, and the interval which enfued between that event and the arrival of the king, Townshend seems to have secured and governed + Bothmar, and the other Hanoverian agents in England; to have supplanted Sunderland and Halisax, and to have obtained the entire confidence of the king, of which he had previously acquired a very distinguished share, by his great reputation for integrity and talents, by the recommendation of pensionary Heinsius, Slingelandt, and other leading men of the Dutch republic, and by his uniform adherence to the cause of the Protestant succession.

<sup>\*</sup> Lord Chesterfield's Letters to his Son, vol. 2. p. 258.

<sup>†</sup> Macpherson's Papers, vol. 2.

An early and intimate connection had been Chapter 11. formed between Townshend and Walpole; they 1714 to 1716. were diffantly related, neighbours in the same walpole's incounty, and educated at the fame school; they timacy with Townshend. joined the same party, acted under the same leaders, underwent the fame perfecutions, and co-operated in the fame opposition. The marriage which Townshend had contracted with Dorothy Walpole, in 1713, drew closer the bonds of amity, and added an union of blood to the connection of party. Walpole had performed too many effential services to the Hanover family, and was too able a speaker in the house of commons, not to occupy a diftinguished fituation at the accession of George the First, and his connection with Townshend facilitated his promotion. Soon after the landing of the king, he was appointed, as I have already mentioned, paymaster general of the forces, to which was added the paymastership of Chelsea Hospital; very lucrative employments, in which he confiderably improved his fortune.

A diffolution taking place on the 5th of Ja-New parlianuary, the new parliament met on the 17th of ment. March, and a great majority were Whigs. The temper of the governing party, in regard to the profecution of the Tories, and the resolution of calling the late ministry to account, evidently appeared from the proclamation for diffolving the parliament. The address of the lords contained expressions highly injurious to the queen's memory, and warmly condemned the peace, and mea-

Period II. 1714 to 1720.

Moves an addrefs, reflecting on the late queen.

fures of the late administration. But the address of the commons was still stronger. " The speaker having reported to the house the king's speech. Walpole expatiated upon the great happiness of measures of the the nation, by his majesty's seasonable accession to the crown; recapitulated the mifmanagements of the four last years, and concluded with a motion for an address of thanks to the king, conformable to the feveral heads of the fpeech \*." The motion being carried with only one diffenting voice, it was drawn up by Walpole, and contained these strong expressions : " It is with just resentment we obferve, that the Pretender still resides in Lorrain, and that he has the prefumption, by declarations from thence, to stir up you/majesty's subjects to rebellion; but that which raises the utmost indignation of your commons is, that it appears therein, that his hopes were built upon the measures that had been taken for fome time past in Great Britain. It shall be our business to trace out those measures whereon he placed his hopes, and to bring the authors of them to condign punishment." Part of this. address being warmly opposed by the Tory members, on the grounds of its being a reflection on the late queen; Walpole observed, t "that nothing was farther from their intentions, than to afperfe the late queen; that they rather defigned to vindicate her memory, by exposing and punishing those evil counsellors, who had thrown on that good, pious, and well-meaning princess, all the blame and odium of their counsels." He added,

\* Yournals.

+ Chandler.

I Chandler.

" that they must distinguish between censuring Chapter 11. ministers, and condemning the peace in general, and condemning particular persons. That they might, in equity and justice, do the first, because the whole nation was already fensible that their honour and true interest had been facrificed by the late peace; that in due time they would call them to account, who made and advised such a peace; but God forbid they should ever condemn any person unheard."

Walpole shewed, in a subsequent debate, his Conduct to-wards Sir Wil-judgment no less than his zeal. For when Sir liam Wynd-William Wyndham endeavoured to prove that the ham. king's proclamation was of dangerous confequences to the very being of parliament, and being called upon to explain himself, but refusing, many members exclaimed, "To the Tower! To the Tower!" Walpole, forefeeing that he would acquire popularity, should that measure be adopted, observed, " I am not for gratifying the defire which the member, who occasions this great debate, shews of being fent to the Tower; it would make him too confiderable: but as he is a young man of good parts, who fets up for a warm champion of the late ministry, and one who was in all their secrets, I would wish him to be in the house when we inquire into the conduct of his friends, both that he may have an opportunity to defend them, and be a witness of the fairness with which we shall proceed against those gentlemen; and that it may not be faid, that we take any advantage against them\*."

<sup>\*</sup> Political State of Great Britain .- Chandler.

Period II. 1714 to 1720.

It was principally owing to his influence, that although Sir William Wyndham continued to refuse making any explanation, he was only ordered to be. reprimanded by the speaker.

the ex-minifters.

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Profecution of The threats of the address, which implied a refolution of profecuting the late ministers, were foon carried into execution. The papers of Bolingbroke, Strafford, and Prior, having been feized and inspected, secretary Stanhope presented to the house of commons, those which related to the negotiations for peace and commerce; and a committee of fecrecy, confifting of twenty-one members, being appointed to examine if there was any just cause of impeachment, Walpole was nominated chairman, and took the lead in the whole business. He drew up the masterly report, which is remarkable for perspicuity of style, method of arrangement, and for digefting, in fo short a compass, such a mass of materials. William Shippen having triumphantly infinuated, that notwithstanding the clamour which had been raifed against the late ministry, the secret committee would not be able to bring any proofs of their guilt, Walpole indignantly, though intemperately observed, that he wanted words to express the villany of the late Frenchified ministry; and it was judged proper to hasten the report. Accordingly, on the 9th of June, only two months after the house had ordered the committee to reduce the papers into order, Walpole read the report, which he continued without interruption five hours.

His report as chairman of the committee of feerecy,

It was divided into two parts. The first stated Chapter ii. the clandestine negotiations with Mesnager, the 1714 to 1716 French plenipotentiary, which produced two fets of preliminary articles; the one private and special. for Great Britain only, the other general, for all her allies: the deceitful offers of the French plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, with the connivances of the ministry; the negotiation in regard to the renunciation of the Spanish monarchy; the suspens fion of arms; the feizure of Ghent and Bruges by the duke of Ormond, and his acting in concert with the French general; the journey of Boling broke to France, for arranging a separate peaces the negotiations of Shrewfbury and Prior, and the precipitate conclusion of the treaty of Utrecht; with a view of criminating the ministers for having deferted their allies, and betrayed the interests and honour of their country. The second part stated; their fecret transactions with the Pretender; a letter from Oxford to the queen, containing a brief account of public affairs from August 6, 1710, to June 8, 1714; the defertion of the Catalans, and fome other papers of less importance\*.

On the conclusion of the report, Sir Thomas impeachment Hanmer moved, that the consideration should be of Boling-B

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<sup>\*</sup> Reports of the secret committee, in the Journals. Abstract of the secret committee, in Historical Register, from 1714 to 1716, vol. 18 p. 164 to 269.—Tindal, vol. 18. p. 246. to 288.

Period II. 1714 to 1720.

the report laid before the house, should now press' for adjourning the confideration of it. That as for the committee of fecrecy, as they had not yet gone through all the branches of their inquiry, he could have wished some longer time had been allowed to peruse and digest several important papers. That for this purpose, they would have deferred three weeks or a month, the laying their report before the house; but that some gentlemen having reflected on the pretended flowness of the committee, fince the faid report was now before them, they must e'en go through with it \*." The motion of Sir Thomas Hanmer being negatived, Walpole impeached Bolingbroke of high treason, and other crimes and mifdemeanors; and the queftion being carried with only a flight opposition of two members, Lord Coningsby stood up and said, "The worthy chairman of the committee has impeached the hand, but I impeach the head; he has impeached the clerk, I impeach the master;" and immediately impeached Robert earl of Oxford and Mortimer, of high treason. On the 21st of June, Stanhope also impeached Strafford of high crimes and misdemeanors.

Walpole draws up the articles of impeachment.

The current of opinion ran so violently against the late administration, that these prosecutions were carried with little opposition. The drawing up of the articles of impeachment was entrusted to the committee of secrecy, and consequently to Walpole, who, in conjunction with Stanhope, now

<sup>\*</sup> Chandler .- Historical Register, v. 1. p. 270.

brincipally directed the house of commons. The Chapter in. articles of impeachment were feverally carried up to 1714 to 1716. the house of lords. Ormond and Bolingbroke Conduct of the having absconded, were attainted. Oxford acted parties accused. a more manly part, supported his protecution, de-fence. fended his conduct with dignity and moderation, and made a calm and firm answer to the accusation of the commons. His defence being transmitted Walpole's reby the lords, was read in the lower house, where plication. Walpole animadverted on it with great acrimony, and drew up a replication.

The profecution of the leaders of the late admi-Observations on these pronistration has been constantly, and in some degree secutions. justly, held up by the Tory historians as a striking -proof of the spirit of party-resentment and partyvengeance, and no less constantly defended by the Whigs. The argument, however, which Oxford advanced on his trial, which his partifans adopted in both houses, and which has been since urged in his justification, that he had acted only in obedience to the commands of the queen, was more fpecious than folid. If admitted in the utmost latitude, it would establish the position, that those who gave pernicious counsels to the fovereign, might shelter themselves under the sanction of those very commands which they had dictated. If the voice of the fovereign is fufficient to authorize the servants of the crown in execution of orders, however illegal, it follows then that the crown would be arbitrary; and as the king can do no wrong, no minister would be responsible for the abuse of the executive power. But there is ano-

Period II. ther argument against the impeachment of the late 1714 to 1720. ministers, far more convincing. It was forcibly urged by Sir William Wyndham, that the peace had been approved by two fuccessive parliaments, and declared fafe, advantageous, and honourable. "Should it be even allowed," he faid, "that the measures of the Tory administration were contrary to the honour and interests of the nation, yet with what pretence of justice could ministers be punished? our constitution knows no limits to the power of the king; lords, and commons affembled in parliament; and though a subsequent parliament may annul any laws which a former parliament had decreed, yet it cannot, and ought not to call any ministers to justice for measures which had been fanctioned by the three branches of the legiflature."

It is far from my intention or wish, to palliate the injustice, or to fanction the malignant spirit of party, yet I may be allowed to examine the principal motives which might have led men of fuch approved humanity as Townshend, Devonshire, Stanhope, and Walpole, to adopt these severe meafures. The Whigs were firmly convinced, that the late queen defired to restore the Pretender, after her death; that Harley and Bolingbroke had, through the fecret interest of the Pretender and his agents, obtained the dismission of the Whig administration; that, with a view to remain in power, they found a peace with France to be effentially necessary; and that to obtain that peace, they had not scrupled to use the assistance of the court of

St. Germains, and the co-operation of the Jaco- Chapter 11. bites in England; that they had opened fecret 1714 to 1716. negotiations with France, in contradiction to the leading principles of the grand alliance, and that, kad not the death of the queen prevented their schemes, they would have set aside the act of settlement, and introduced a popish sovereign on the throne.

The imprudent conduct of the Pretender in-Imprudence of creafed the animofity of the Whigs, and haftened the Pretender. the profecution of his supposed adherents. His manifesto, dated August 29, 1714, sent to some of the principal ministers, contained these remarkable expressions: "Upon the death of the princess our fister, of whose good intentions towards us, we could not for some time past well doubt; and this was the reason we then fat still, expecting the good effects thereof, which were unfortunately prevented by her deplorable death \*." Although from the nature of the transaction, and the suppression of many papers, they could not procure fuch legal proof as would be admitted in a court of justice on the condemnation of a criminal, yet the collateral evidence was fully convincing. It must, however, be confessed, that the part of the report which infers the intention of the late ministry to restore the Pretender, is extremely weak, founded only on vague conjecture and circumstantial evidence; they could not, therefore, venture to lay any great ftress on fuch affertions, as proofs of high treason,

Period II. but grounded their profecution on the public events 1714 to 1720 which related to the peace. Though animated by the powerful impressions of a high sense of national difgrace, the recollection of an escape from recent danger, and all the spirit and resentment of party, they confined their attacks to a few victims; they impeached only Oxford, Bolingbroke, and Ormond of high treason, and Strafford of high crimes and misdemeanors.

Bolingbroke attainted.

As to Bolingbroke, when Walpole brought forward his impeachment, only one member fpoke in his defence, and that member was a notorious Jacobite, and when his flight was reported to the house, the bill of attainder against him passed without a fingle diffenting voice.

Ormond defended by his friends.

But the fituation and character of Ormond were far different. When Stanhope moved for the impeachment of Ormond, Hutcheson, member for Hastings, made a long speech in his behalf, and urged many palliating circumstances; and Sir Iofeph Jekyll, whose principles and conduct had always proved him a fincere friend to the Protestant fuccession, spoke warmly on the same side. The debate continued above nine hours, and Ormond had fo many friends, that his impeachment was carried only by a majority of forty-seven. The proceedings against Ormond would not, in all probability, have been conducted with much asperity, had he preferved the moderation, which, under his circumstances, would have been becoming; but, on the contrary, while his conduct was under inquiry before the fecret committee, he lived in an unfuitable

unfuitable style of magnificence, affected to court Chapter 11. popularity, and faw with complacency his name 1714 to 1716. made the fignal of tumult, and disloyal exclamation. Even after his impeachment, Devonshire had arranged for him a private interview with the king; but far from availing himself of this kindness, and contrary to the promise extorted from him by his Tory friends, he withdrew from the kingdom, and precluded the possibility of a return to his native country, by instantly entering into the fervice of the Pretender. Having once embraced that desperate measure, he was too honest and zealous to act like Bolingbroke, and obtain a pardon by facrificing the interests of his new master, or by entering into a compromise with his profecutors.

The warmest advocates for the Whigs must ad- The Whigs mit, that in the proceedings against the earl of the profecution Oxford, party refentment was too predominant. of Oxford. He certainly had, either from inclination, fear, policy, or pique, defeated the attempts of the Pretender's friends, and had been one great cause of fecuring the quiet fuccession of the house of Hanover. On the accession of George the First, he had shewn such unequivocal proofs of his attachment and triumph \*, as difgusted his former friends, and there is not the least doubt that had the queen lived, Oxford would have joined the Whigs, and exerted himself in favour of the house

<sup>\* &</sup>quot;The Dragon was thought to shew more joy in proclaiming the king, than was consistent with the obligations he had received from them threw halters in his coach." Charles Ford to Swift, August 5, 1714.

Period II. 1714 to 1720.

of Hanover. But it is a justice due to Townshend and Walpole, to observe, that they strenuously insisted, Oxford should not be accused of high treason, but only tried for high crimes and misdemeanors \*; and that they uniformly opposed his bill of attainder, which was no less warmly supported by Marlborough and his adherents. Oxford acted with great magnanimity during the whole course of his prosecution; and evinced a consciousness that he was innocent of the charge of having promoted the succession of the Pretender, by abiding his trial.

Commencement of the Rebellion. The multiplicity of business protracted the sitting of the parliament till the 21st of September. Before its prorogation, the tumults and riots which preceded the Rebellion had already begun. The earl of Mar set up the standard of the Pretender in Scotland, under the name of James the Third. His party increased, and became formidable from the number of disaffected. In this crisis, the vigilance and activity of the ministers was aided by the zeal of parliament. The habeas corpus act was suspended. The earl of Jersey and lord Lansdowne were committed to the Tower; Sir William Wyndham, and other suspected persons of the house

<sup>\*</sup> Correspondence. Period II.

<sup>†</sup> The following anecdote, relating to the arrest of Sir William Wyndham, places Lord Townshend's firmness of character in a confinituous point of view.—It was communicated to me by his grandfon Lord Sydney. When the intelligence that Sir William Wyndham was concerned in a projected rising in favour of the Pretender, was laid before the cabinet, the duke of Somerset, anxious that his son-in-law, Sir William Wyndham, should not be taken into custody, offered to be responsible for him. The ministers were inclined to give way, for

house of commons, were apprehended \*; large Chapter 11. fupplies were voted; a confiderable body of men 1714 to 1716. marched under the command of the duke of Argyle, and troops were obtained from Holland, by the representations of Horace Walpole, who was deputed to the Hague for that purpose. The reader will find, in the histories of the times, an account of the partial defeat of the Rebels under the earl of Mar at Dumblain, by the duke of Argyle, which effectually prevented their junction with those in the south; the total route of their force at Preston, by general Carpenter; the landing of the Pretender in Scotland; his short display of mock dignity at Perth; his flight from Scotland, and return to France, and the final suppression of the rebellion. To enter into the detail of these Walpole's transactions, does not fall within the compass of time. the present work. It is sufficient for the author of these memoirs to observe, that vigour in counfels, exertion in parliament, readiness to forward every fupply, to answer every occasion, and to facilitate the measures of government, increased the reputation of Walpole, and endeared him to his king and country.

In

fear of offending a person of the duke's consequence, who, besides his fituation of matter of the horse, had great influence with the Whigs. The king was present. The proofs against Sir William Wyndham were fo strong, that Lord Townshend deemed it necessary that government should not appear afraid to arrest such an offender, let his rank or connexions be what they might, and moved accordingly to have him taken into custody. Near ten minutes passed in silence before any one ventured to agree with him; when at last, two or three rose at the same moment to second him, and the arrest was decreed. As the king retired into his closet, he took hold of Lord Townshend's hand, and said, 14 You have done me a great service to-day."

See State Trials, vol. 1. and Hift. Register.

Period II. 1714 to 1720. treasury, and hancellor of

In confideration of his fervices and useful talents, he was, on the 11th of October 1715, appointed Heisappointed first lord commissioner of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer, vacant by the death of the exchequer, the earl of Halifax, and the removal of the earl of Carlifle, who had immediately fucceeded Halifax. He was raised to this high station at a very critical juncture; a rebellion in the kingdom; a faction fecretly aiding and abetting the Pretender; divisions in the cabinet, and a disaffected body among the Whigs, already preparing the schisin which broke out in the enfuing year. In the latter part of his life, he often adverted to the difficulty he now experienced in conciliating the difcordant members of administration, and supporting the house of Brunswick on the throne.

parliament.

Proceedings in The king's speech; the zealous addresses of congratulation made by both houses on the suppression of the rebellion, the impeachment and condemnation of the rebel lords, engaged the principal attention of both houses, for a considerable time after the meeting of parliament, on the 14th of December; and the petitions in favour of the earls of Derwentwater, Nithifdale, and Kenmure, were urged with fuch vehemence, and fo warmly fupported by feveral members in the house of commons, as irritated Walpole, and induced him to observe, "I am moved with indignation to fee that there should be such unworthy members of this great body, who can, without blushing, open their mouths in favour of rebels and parricides, who, far from making the least

least advance towards deserving favour, by an in- Chapter 11.

genuous discovery of the bottom of the present 1714 to 1716. horrid conspiracy, have rather aggravated their guilt, both by their fullen filence and prevaricating answers; the earl of Derwentwater," added he, " pretended, and affirmed, that he went unprepared, and was drawn unawares into this rebellion; yet to my knowledge, he had been tampering with feveral people, to perfuade them to rise in favour of the Pretender, six months before he appeared in arms \*:" and with a view to prevent the house being troubled with any further petitions, which it was determined to reject, Walpole himself proposed an adjournment + to the 1st March, as it was known that their execution was to take place before that time: the motion met with fo ftrong an opposition, that it was carried only by a majority of feven voices. But Walpole proved his indignation to originate in virtuous and difinterested motives, when he stated to the house, that he had been offered f. 60,000 to fave the life of one fingle person (the earl of Derwentwater). He also spoke, as one of the managers for the commons, in the profecution of the earl of Wintown, another of the rebel lords; and he feems in every instance to have urged the necessity of adopting severe measures in the present alarming crisis; a mode of conduct so opposite to the natural bias of his

1716. Feb. 22d.

<sup>\*</sup> Oldmixon, p. 631.

<sup>†</sup> Second letter to Robert Walpole, Esquire, 30.

<sup>1</sup> Political State of Great Britain, 1716 .- Chandler .- Tindal .-Etough.

Period II. 1714 to 1720.

temper, which always leaned to the fide of humanity, as proved his full conviction, that too much lenity shewn to persons taken in flagrant rebellion, would at this period have proved dangerous to the state.

Much has been faid of the feverity shewn by government to the people who took up arms in fovour of the Pretender; and from the accounts of the party writers, it might be supposed, that thousands and tens of thousands had fallen facrifices to their mistaken principles; that no clemency was shewn to any of the rebels; no diftinction made between the leaders and their deluded followers, But on a candid investigation of the fact, on the authority of the persons who have condemned these measures, the result will be, that three lords were beheaded on Tower-hill; that the judges having found many guilty of high treason in Lancashire, two-and-twenty were executed at Preston and Manchester; that of a great number found guilty at London, only four were hanged \*. Such were the lenient proceedings against the rebels, which writers, adopting a peevish expression of the great Lord Somers, have magnified into the profcriptions of Marius and Sylla; and fascinated by the metaphorical eloquence of Bolingbroke, have taken in its full latitude his malignant affertion, "That the violence of the Whigs dyed the royal ermines with blood ... In fact, no government can exist, if all rebels

<sup>\*</sup> Smollet, vol. 2. p. 311. † Smollet.—Belfham's Memoirs, vol. 1. p. 113.

taken with arms in their hands are permitted to Chapter 11. escape with impunity; and too great lenity under 1714 to 1716. a new king, who was a foreigner, struggling against a competitor claiming the crown by hereditary right, and supported by all the Roman Catholics, and the principal Tories, would have been not only imprudent, but even inhuman; because it would have held up impunity to those who should raise the standard of insurrection in future. Nor did it ever happen, on the conclusion of a rebellion for a disputed succesfion, that so few facrifices were made to the public fecurity.

### CHAPTER THE TWELFTH:

## 1716.

Illness of Walpole .- Recovery .- Septennial Bill .- Impatience of the King to wifit Hanover .- Repeal of the restraining Clause in the AE of Settlement .- Misunderstanding between the King and the Prince of Wales, who is appointed Guardian of the Realm .- Departure of the King for Hanover.

THE activity of Walpole's exertions at this im-Illness and reportant period, and the great corporeal and covery. mental fatigue to which they subjected him, brought on a fevere illness, which nearly hurried him to the grave. His recovery was at length effected, but its progress was so gradual, that he was, for a long time, incapacitated from attending to the business of the nation. His restoration to health was forwarded by a temporary retreat to his favourite residence at Chelsea, from which

Period II. May 11th.

place, he writes to his brother, in these terms: 1714 to 1720. " I have been here about ten days, and find fo great a benefit from the air, that I gather strength daily, and hope as much time more will recover me from the lowest and weakest condition that ever poor mortal was alive in, and I shall be able. to get to town and do bufiness again \*." Congratulations on the recovery of a man, to whom the Protestant establishment owed so much, and who was the foul of his party, flowed in from all quarters. Numerous verses were made on the event, and Rowe, the great damatic poet, did not disdain to write a ballad on the occasion ...

Septennial

During this interval, the feptennial bill was brought into parliament. Although Walpole was not able to support this measure in the house of commons, yet, as it had been previously arranged with his concurrence, and as he also constantly opposed the repeal, it has always been justly considered an act of his administration.

This memorable bill, which is to be confidered as the bulwark of our civil and religious liberties, because it effectually supported the house of Brunswick on the throne; was undoubtedly one of the most daring uses, or, according to the representations of its opponents, abuses of parliamentary power that ever was committed fince the revolution: for, it not only lengthened the duration of future parliaments, but the members

\* Walpole Papers.

<sup>+</sup> See Collection of Whig Ballads, or Pills to purge State Melancholy, part 2.

who had been elected only for three years, pro- Chapter 12. longed, of their own authority, the term of their continuance for four years more \*. The great body of the Whigs, influenced by these considerations, were, at the first proposition, averse to the measure, and did not agree to support it, till mature deliberation had convinced them of its necessity. During the debates which took place on this occasion, the arguments of opposition and defence, were not unequal to the importance and dignity of the subject. We, who live at this distance of time, without being heated by the warmth of party, without fufficiently confidering the temper and state of the nation, and without weighing the peculiar circumftances which occafioned its introduction, must confess, that in theory, the arguments of those who opposed it, are the most specious and convincing; but if we recur to the events of the times, and the state of the country, we must applaud the wisdom of those who facrificed speculation to practice. It is the remark of a judicious author, "That the act of feptennial parliaments was passed, when

<sup>\*</sup> This has been thought by many an unconstitutional exertion of their authority; and the reason given is, that those who had a power delegated to them for three years only, could have no right to extend that term to seven years. But this has always appeared to me to be a fallacious mode of considering the subject. Before the triennial act, 6 W. & M. the duration of parliament was only limited by the pleasure or death of the king; and it never can be supposed that the next, or any succeeding parliament, had not the power of repealing the triennial act; and if that had been done, then, as before, they might have fat seventeen or seventy years. It is certainly true, that the simple repeal of a former statute would have extended their continuance much beyond what was done by the feptennial act.

Period II.

the kingdom was threatened with an immediate 1714 to 1720 invasion, when a rebellion had but just been quelled, and when the peace and fafety of the nation depended on the use of this power by parliament. Such was the opinion of the people at that time, and the act met with general approbation, from the general conviction of its neceffity \*."

> That the necessity must have been great and evident, appears from the confideration, that it was supported by men of the first rank, independence, and probity in the kingdom; that in the house of lords, where it was proposed by the duke of Devonshire, there were only 36 voices against it, and that, on being sent to the house of commons, there was a majority of 264 against 121. But whatever opinion might be formed of the justice of the right exercised by parliament, in repealing the triennial act and fubflituting feptennial parliaments, yet it can fcarcely be contested, that it has in effect been highly advantageous to the well-being of the legislature, and to the real interest of the nation. The speaker. Onflow, who was no ill judge of parliamentary proceedings, was frequently heard to declare . That the passing of the septennial bill formed the era of the emancipation of the British house of commons from its former dependence on the crown and the house of lords. From that period it has rifen in confequence and strength.

<sup>\*</sup> Adams's Letter against Paine.

<sup>†</sup> Communicated by Sir George Colebrook.

We who live to enjoy the benefits of an act, Chapter 12. which has greatly contributed to fet bounds to, faction, which has relieved us from the mifchievous effects of too frequent elections, and from the interference of foreign powers; which has given permanence and independence to our councils, and prevented those frequent changes of men and measures, which left us open to every fluctuation of public fentiment, to every impulse of craft and artifice, we ought not too severely to fcrutinize the arguments which were used in defence of a measure recommended by the necessity of the times, and which subsequent experience has demonstrated to be no less beneficial and prudent, than bold and decifive. The immediate effect is best ascertained by the unceasing clamours of a desperate faction, whose hopes were at once destroyed by a step which placed at a great distance the chance of influencing the public mind, and producing dangerous ferments by the accustomed means of popular delusion. History enables us to ascertain its more remote confequences; and whoever fairly confiders the permanence of peace, the energy of war, and amelioration of jurisprudence which have resulted to the nation; the wifdom of counsel, boldness of eloquence, and increase of importance which have diffinguished the commons, fince the period of its formation, must acknowledge that many of the most inestimable blessings of our constitution are to be attributed to this measure, which originally appeared to invade its first principles. It is K

1716.

to be hoped, that there are few persons who would 1714 to 1720. defire to replunge the nation into that feveriffi state which attends frequent elections in cities and counties, and to revive that perpetual enmity which must arise from the frequent agitation of contradictory interests, and the investigation of claims, which can hardly be once decided, before they are again contested.

Lord Somers.

Observation of Although a question like this cannot be decided by the opinion of any individual, yet furely the judgment of lord Somers, the constant friend of liberty, and the oracle of the revolution, is intitled to some respect, and the time and manner of giving it, render it peculiarly interesting. While the bill was in agitation, Dr. Friend, the celebrated physician, called on lord Townshend. and informed him, that lord Somers was at that moment restored to the full possession of his faculties. by a fit of the gout, which suspended the effect of his paralytic complaint. Townshend immediately waited on Somers, who, as foon as he came into the room embraced him, and faid, "I have just heard of the work in which you are engaged, and congratulate you upon it; I never approved the triennial bill, and always confidered it in effect, the reverse of what it was intended. You have my hearty approbation in this business, and I think it will be the greatest support possible to the liberty of the country \*."

<sup>\*</sup> Communicated by lord Sydney, and Charles Townshend, esquire, who frequently heard this anecdote related by their father, the late honourable Thomas Townshend, son of lord Townshend.

The impatience of the king to visit his German Chapter 12. dominions now became fo great, as totally to overcome every restraint of prudence, and suggestion The king re-of propriety, and imperiously to demand indul-folius to go to Hanover. gence, though the unfettled state of the public mind, from the effect of rebellion, hardly yet intirely suppressed, and the prejudice excited by the new measures, both of legislation and profecution. should have opposed insuperable obstacles to his defire. The ministry were confiderably embarrafied on this occasion; and drew up a strong remonstrance, representing the inconveniences which would refult from the projected journey. This remonstrance, however, not only failed of fuccess, but fo far exasperated the king, that he declared he would not endure a longer confinement in this kingdom. Under these circumstances, the ministry could not venture to make any further oppofition. When the act was passed, which settled the fuccession on the house of Brunswick, it was accompanied with various restrictions, limiting the future fovereign in feveral inftances. Some of these restrictions had been repealed during the reign of queen Anne. But the clause which restrained the king from going out of the kingdom, without confent of parliament, still subsisted. It must be allowed to have been a necessary limitation, and its continuance would have been highly beneficial to the true interests of England. For no circumstance more impeded public business, or more alienated the public mind, than the frequent visits which the two first sovereigns of the house of

Period II.

Brunswick made to the electorate of Hanover. 1714 to 1720. This predilection to their native country, was in them both natural and excufable; yet, for the benefit of England, it ought to have been confined within due bounds. Although it is not probable that the parliament would ever have with-held their consent, yet the necessity of obtaining that consent

Repeal of the restraining clause in the act of fettlement.

would doubtless have checked the too frequent repetition of the demand, and have prevented the absence of the sovereign in times of public emergency. But at the present juncture it was confidered more respectful to obtain a repeal, than to fubject the king to the necessity of obtaining a parliamentary confent, for which messages must have been fent to both houses, previous to each voyage. When the motion was made by Sir John Cope, to repeal the reftricting clause, and seconded by Hampden, it passed unanimously, not a single member, amongst many who were diffatisfied with the fuccession of the Hanover line, venturing to make the flightest opposition to the repeal of a clause, which, however conformable to the hopes of the nation, could not but be confidered as invidious and difgraceful to the new fovereign. The ministers were often obliged to make the most pressing remonstrances, as well to prevent the absence of the king, as to hasten his return; these remonstrances were often ineffectual, but always offensive; and Walpole, during the course of his administration, lamented an evil which he had in vain attempted to remedy, and which nothing but the continuance of the restraining clause, or an absolute cession of the electorate, could have prevented.

prevented. Some authors, in treating of these Chapter 12. long and frequent absences, have thrown out reproachful fuggestions on the framers of the act of fettlement, for not infifting that a foreign prince should refign his continental dominions before he affumed the possession of the crown. Such a provision did not escape the fagacity of the legislators of the day, and would, most probably, have been carried into effect, but for the obvious certainty that no prince would renounce the quiet poffeffion of his continental dominions, however fmall. to acquire the brilliant, but precarious dignity of fovereign of a large kingdom, exposed to the evils of a powerful faction, and the dangers of a difputed fuccession. These considerations deterred the framers of the bill from proposing a measure, which would infallibly have frustrated all their other efforts for the preservation of our civil and religious liberties.

This difficult point being adjusted, another ques- Theking's joation, of equal delicacy, occurred, which related to loufy of the prince of the method of carrying on the government during Wales. the king's absence. The most obvious and natural method was the appointment of the prince of. Wales to the regency; but this measure was obstructed by an unfortunate jealoufy which the king entertained of his fon.

This mifunderstanding had already commenced at Hanover, before the death of queen Anne. Sophia had often behaved to George the First with distance and referve, and did not always confult him in regard to the affairs of England. She was

Period H. extremely fond of her grandfon, and in feveral in-1714 to 1720. stances of great importance, had acted in concurrence with him alone, and particularly, the demand of the writ for him to fit in the house of peers, as duke of Cambridge, was made without the knowledge\*, or against the inclination of George the First. This preference of her grandfon, naturally created a coldness between the father and fon, which was afterwards increased by the artful propofal of the Tories, in voting the civil lift, that a separate revenue of f. 100,000 per annum should be settled on the prince of Wales. The motion was negatived by the influence of the Whigs . The eagerness which the prince expressed to obtain the title and office of regent, augmented the difgust of the king. Conscious that the prince was instigated in most of his proceedings by the duke of Argyle, his groom of the stole, whose fascinating manners and specious address had gained a great ascendancy over the prince, he infifted on the difmission of the duke. Under these impressions, the king was unwilling to entrust him with the government, without joining other perfons in the commission, and without limiting his authority by the most rigorous restrictions. With a view of forming a regency under those conditions, he fubmitted his wishes, through the channel of Bernsdorf, to the council. Their answer on this subject, declared, that, " on a careful perusal of precedents, finding no instance of persons being

+ Chandler.

<sup>\*</sup> Communicated by lady Suffolk, who was then at Hanover, to the late earl of Orford. See also Chap 8. and Clarendon's Letter to Secretary Bromley. Correspondence, Period I.

1716.

joined in commission with the prince of Wales, Chapter 13. and few, if any restrictions, they were of opinion, that the constant tenor of ancient practice could not conveniently be receded from \*," Although he reluctantly submitted to confign to the prince the fole direction of affairs, yet, instead of the title of regent, he appointed him guardian of the realm and lieutenant, an office unknown in England fince it was enjoyed by Edward the black prince .

Having made this arrangement, and removed Departure the duke of Argyle from the household of the from England. prince, and from the command of the army in Scotland, he committed to Townshend and Walpole the principal direction of affairs, and, accompanied by fecretary Stanhope, took his departure from England on the 9th of July, and arrived on the 15th at Hanover,

## CHAPTER THE THIRTEENTH:

1716.

State and Distunion of the Ministry. - Cabals of Sunderland .- Intrigues and Venality of the Hanoverian Junto.

IN E have hitherto contemplated the ministry in Disunion of the which Townshend and Walpole took the ministry. lead, in the highest degree prosperous and refpectable. It would naturally be supposed, that

<sup>\*</sup> Letter from Lord Townshend to Bernsdorf. Carreffonder ce, Period II.

<sup>+</sup> Political State of Great Britain, 1716,-Tindal,

Period II.

union and tranquillity in the cabinet were indif-1714 to 1720. penfably necessary to produce such wise counsels and vigorous measures, but this supposition is not verified by fact, The feeds of discontent had already taken root, and were bringing to maturity by the petty intrigues and felfish cabals of those Hanoverian mistresses and ministers who had followed the fortunes of the king.

Sunderland discontented.

The principal person who fomented the disunion in the cabinet, was Charles earl of Sunderland, whose father, Robert, is so notorious in the annals of this country, for his great abilities and confummate treachery. He had married Anne, fecond daughter of the duke of Marlborough, and had ferved under his father-in-law, both in a military and diplomatic capacity. The origin of the mifunderstanding between him and Townshend, may be dated from the death of queen Anne. At that period, Sunderland, as the great leader of the Whigs, and in confideration of his fervices to the Hanover family, was led to expect that he should be placed at the head of the administration, and become the person under whose auspices the new cabinet was to be formed. Bothmar had reprefented him as a man who had always shewn more attachment to the king than any other. He had first recommended Sunderland to be lord lieutenant of Ireland, and Townshend to be secretary of state; but on Sunderland's expressing his defire to have that office, Bothmar proposed that Townshend should be provided with another place, This 3.

This arrangement was first suggested on the 13th Chapter 13. of August, yet, on the 31st of the same month, Bothmar expressed his wishes to Robethon, that it might be given to Townshend, although Sunderland had asked for it \*. In fact, the king was at this period influenced by Bothmar, Bothmar was wholly governed by Townshend, and the new administration was principally settled by him. Although Sunderland was received with fingular attention by the king on his arrival, yet it is remarkable, that his name does not appear among the lords justices added in the list communicated by Bothmar to the feven great officers of the realm. The afpiring Sunderland, under whom Townshend had hitherto acted a fubordinate part, could not brook this preference; though he did not openly shew his difgust, yet he scarcely took any active part in defending the measures of government; he who was before accustomed to make a conspicuous figure in every debate, feems to have remained almost uniformly filent; and from the accession of George the First, till the beginning of 1717, his name feldom occurs in the proceedings of the house of lords. He had been nominated lord lieutenant of Ireland, which he confidered a species of banishment, and as a place far below his expectations. Soon after the death of the marquis of Wharton, he was appointed privy feal. But his promotion to this high office did not remove his disgust.

<sup>\*</sup> Macpherson's Papers, vol. 2.

138

Period II. 1714 to 1720. Nottingham returns to the Tories.

The spirit of discontent had not been confined to Sunderland. Nottingham, whose Tory principles could never coalesce with a Whig administration, and whose vehement interference in favour of the condemned rebel lords had given offence, was difmiffed from the prefidentship of the council,

Somerfet difmiffed from the of the horse.

Somerfet was removed from his post of master of place of master the horse, on account of some indiscreet expresfions on the arrest of his fon-in-law, Sir William Wyndham.

Halifax difaf-

The earl of Halifax had estimated his services and talents at fo high a rate, that he expected to have been appointed lord high treasurer: created first-commissioner, he was highly chagrined; nor was his difgust removed by the garter, the title of earl, and the transfer of the place of auditor of the exchequer to his nephew. Inflamed by difappointed ambition, he entered into cabals with the Tory leaders, for the removal of those with whom he had fo long cordially acted; but his death, on the 10th of May 1715, put an end to his intrigues\*.

Dies.

feeted.

Marlborough diffatisfied.

Marlborough also was among the diffatisfied, Soon after the death of queen Anne, Bothmar fays of him, "He is not pleafed that he is not of the regency, and that there is any man but the king higher than him in this country +;" and his difgust was not diminished after the king's arrival: For although he was appointed commander in chief, yet he did not enjoy the smallest share of power or confidence. During the campaign of

<sup>\*</sup> Tindal, vol. 18. p. 371.

<sup>†</sup> Macpherson's Papers, vol. 2. p. 640.

1708, when George the First, then elector of Han- Chapter 13. over, commanded the Imperialifts, Marlborough had contrived, that no troops or fupplies were fent to the Rhine, but that the whole force was deftined for the army in Flanders, by which arrange ment George had been obliged to act, on the defensive, and could not distinguish his command by any fuccessful operation against the enemy. This conduct was never forgotten by the king; and in consequence of his resentment, Marlborough, though commander in chief, could not obtain even a lieutenancy for a friend; and he not unfrequently requested Pulteney, who was secretary at war, to folicit in his room, adding, "but do not fay it is for me, for whatever I ask is fure to be denied."

To these discontents Walpole alludes in a private Walpole too letter to his brother Horace, on the removal of secure. Nottingham \*. " I don't well know what account to give you of our fituation here. There are storms in the air, but I doubt not, they will soon be blown over." In this inftance, however, his prediction was not verified; Sunderland increased his party with a number of difaffected perfons. He particularly gained among the Whigs, Carleton, Cadogan, Lechmere, and Hamden; courted the Tories; entered into cabals against his colleagues; and was prepared to use all his efforts, and employ any opportunities which might offer, to prejudice the king against them +; nor were such means and opportunities wanting,

<sup>\*</sup> Walpole Papers.

<sup>+</sup> Walpole's letter to Stanhope, July 30th, 1716. - Correspondence, Period II.

Period II. 1714 to 1720. Hanoverian venality. One of the greatest difficulties which Townshend and Walpole had to encounter, arose from the management of the German junto, who principally governed the king. This junto, at his accession, and for some time after, consisted of his two mistresses, the duchess of Kendal and the countess of Darlington, and his German ministers and favourities.

Character of the duchess of Kendal.

Erengard Melefina, baroness of Schulenburgh, and princess of Eberstein, was the favourite mistress of George the First, when electoral prince, and after his separation from his wife, the unfortunate Sophia, princess of Zell, he is said to have espoused her with his left hand, a species of marriage not uncommon in Germany. She accompanied the king to England, and was, in 1716, created baroneis of Dundalk, counteis and marchioness of Dungannon, and duchess of Munster of the kingdom of Ireland; and, in 1718, made a peeress of Great Britain, by the title of baroness of Glastonbury, counters of Feversham, and duchess of Kendal\*, by which title the is commonly known. Her influence over the king was fo confiderable, that the different parties in the cabinet, and the leaders in opposition, paid the most obsequious court, and even the empress of Germany maintained a private correspondence with her, with a view to induce the king to renew the connection between England and the house of Austria. This ascendancy is the more furprising, when it is con-

1716.

fidered that she did not possess much beauty of Chapter 13. countenance, or elegance of person; for the electress Sophia, pointing her out to Mrs. Howard, faid \*, " Do you fee that maukin? you would fcarcely believe that she has captivated my fon;" and according to Sir Robert Walpole, (whose opinion, however, as he did not readily speak in any foreign language, and she could not converse in English, must be received with caution) her intellects were mean and contemptible. Money was with her the principal and prevailing confideration. and he was often heard to fay, she was so venal a creature, that she would have fold the king's honour for a shilling advance to the best bidder . She affected great and conftant regularity in her public devotions, frequently attending feveral Lutheran chapels in the same day. The minister of the Lutheran church in the Savov, refused to admit her to the facrament; but she was received at the church of the fame communion in the city 1.

His other mistress was Sophia Charlotte, daugh- Character of ter of the count of Platen, and wife of baron Kil-the counters of Darlington. manseck, master of the horse, from whom she was feparated. On the death of her husband, in 1721, she was created countess of Leinster in the kingdom of Ireland, and in 1722, made a British peeress by the title of baroness of Brentford, and countess of Darlington §. She was a woman of great beauty,

<sup>\*</sup> From Lord Orford.

<sup>+</sup> Etough.-Minutes of a conversation with Sir Robert Walpole.

I Etough.

<sup>§</sup> Extinct Peerage,

but became extremely corpulent as fhe advanced 1714 to 1720 in years. Her power over the king was not equal to that of the duchefs of Kendal; but although fhe was younger, and more accomplished than her rival, feveral perfons about the court, conceiving her influence to be greater than it really was, ineffectually endeavoured to rife by her means. Her character for rapacity was not inferior to that of the duchels of Kendal

Character of Bothmar:

The Hanoverian ministers who had the principal influence over the king, were baron Bothmar. count Bernsdorf, and Robethon. Baron Bothmar had been the king's principal agent in England during the latter years of queen Anne. By his advice George had almost uniformly acted; and it was principally owing to his interposition, that Townshend was entrusted with the chief powers and became the head of the new administration. Bothmar now conceived that his fervices could not be too amply rewarded by the minister to whose elevation he had greatly contributed; he took umbrage on finding that his recommendations were often rejected, and that sufficient respect was not paid to his opinion.

Bernfdorf.

Count Bernsdorf, of an illustrious family, folid talents, and confiderable experience, was the minifter whom George consulted in foreign affairs. On his arrival in England, he was anxious to increase his consequence, and improve his fortune. But finding his views opposed by Townshend and Walpole, he became difgusted, and joining with Both-

mar

mar and the miftreffes, was prepared to forward Chapter 13. any attempt to drive them from the helm.

The party was farther strengthened by the ac-Robethon. cession of Robethon, the king's French secretary. This man was of a French refugee family, and became private fecretary to king William, from whose service he entered into that of the house of Brunswick. He foon became confidential fecretary, first of the duke of Zell, and afterwards of George the First, when elector of Hanover, and was the person employed in carrying on the confidential correspondence with England \*. This private intercourse gave him a confiderable ascendancy over his mafter; and being a man of address, great knowledge of mankind, and well acquainted with the leading members in both houses of parliament, he was enabled to act a conspicuous part. His fituation with the king rendered him infolent and prefumptuous; his necessities were great, and his venality was fo notorious as to excite the displeasure, and call forth the remonfrances of Townshend and Walpole; consequently, he became their inveterate enemy, zealoufly promoted the views of Sunderland, and attached himfelf to those who were labouring to obtain their dismission.

To these persons of ostensible consequence, must Two Turks in be added two Turks, known by the names of Mus- the fervice of the king. tapha and Mahomet ... They had been taken prisoners

Macpherson's Papers, vol. 2.

<sup>†</sup> Pope has mentioned one of these Turks in terms of approbation, in his moral effays, Epiftle 2nd, to a lady.

prisoners by the Imperalists in Hungary, and had 1714 to 1720. ferved the king when electoral prince, who was wounded in that campaign, with fuch zeal and fidelity, that he took them to Hanover, brought them to England, and made them pages of the back-stairs. Their influence over their master was fo great, that their names are mentioned in a difpatch of count Broglio to the king of France, as possessing a large share of the king's confidence. These low foreigners obtained considerable sums of money for recommendation to places.

Rapacity and ambition of these persons.

These mistresses, ministers, and favourites, coming from a poor electorate, confidered England as a kind of land of promise, and at the same time fo precarious a possession, that they endeavoured to enrich themselves with all possible speed \*. With this view they fold their influence over their mafter at a high price, and disposed of all the places and honours which the king could confer, without the intervention of his English ministers. Their venality arose to so great a height, as obliged Walpole to remonstrate against them; but the king almost sanctioned the abuse, by replying with a fmile, "I suppose you are also paid for your

" From peer or bishop 'tis no easy thing,

<sup>&</sup>quot; To draw the man who loves his God, or king,

<sup>&</sup>quot;Alas! I copy (or my draught would fail)
"From HONEST MAH'MET, or plain parson Hale."

Portraits of the two Turks are on the great stair-case in Kenfington palace. Lyfon's Environs of London, vol. 3. p. 103.

<sup>\*</sup> During the whole reign of George the First, after the refignation of the duke of Someriet, no mafter of the horse was appointed; the profits of the place were appropriated to the duchess of Kendal. The emoluments of the mastership of the buck hounds, were also reserved for one of the Germans.

recommendations \*:" Private emoluments, and Chapter 13. concealed advantages, did not however fatisfy their rapaciousness; they began to aim at the honours of rank and pre-eminence. The ladies were defirous of being made peereffes; Bothmar and Bernsdorf, aspired to a feat in the house of lords; while Robethon, affected to content himself with the title of baronet. To these pretensions, which the conduct of William had fanctioned, the act of fettlement prefented an insuperable barrier. Interest soon enabled them to discover that the regulations of that act did not extend to Ireland; the baroness of Schulenberg was gratified with the title of duchess of Munster, and the Irish establishment loaded with pensions: But this advancement did not fatisfy that ambitious woman, who was less gratified by this title, than irritated against Refisted by Townshend and Walpole, for opposing her demand Townshend and Walpole, of being created an English peeress. The ministers and fecretary, animated with a fimilar rancour, behaved with great infolence towards the leaders of the cabinet, infomuch that Walpole once, in the presence of the king, rebuked the presumption of an impertinent affertion, by the stern reproof, " Mentiris impudentissime \*." In consequence of these repeated altercations, the Hanoverian crew endeavoured to counteract, by their intrigues, the influence of Townshend and Walpole, and infuse into the king's mind, fuch fuspicions and prejudices as, affifted by other intrigues, ended in the dismission of those able ministers

\* From Lord Orford.

Period II. 1714 to 1720.

These, and many other mischiefs, which were the necessary consequences of the introduction of a foreign family, cannot be concealed or controverted. Yet, while we relate and deplore them in their full latitude, let us not fo far forget the bleffings derived from the fame fource, as to overlook our escape from still greater evils. This event, which was occasionally productive of confiderable inconveniences, was the price paid for the preservation of our religion and constitution. The option was neceffarily made between Hanover and Rome; between civil and religious liberty, accompanied by temporary disadvantages, or papal and despotic tyranny, followed by fure and permanent degradation.

## CHAPTER THE FOURTEENTH :

1716.

Acquifition of Bremen and Verden .- Alliance with France.

Acquisition of Bremen and Werden.

HANOVER now became the centre of the most important negotiations. The two great objects of these negotiations were to complete the acquifition of Bremen and Verden, and to fecure tranquillity at home, by a strict union with France.

At the peace of Westphalia, the archbishopric of Bremen, and bishopric of Verden, were ceded to Sweden. But their commodious fituation, between the territories of the house of Brunswick

1716.

and the sea, rendered them a desirable object of Chapter 14. acquisition to the dukes of Zell and Brunswick, and those princes had formed several attempts to obtain possession, but had always failed of success: At length George the First obtained what his anceftors could not accomplish. Frederic the Fourth of Denmark, having, in 1712, conquered Holstein. Slefwic, Bremen, and Verden, and unable to retain them, or even to refift the arms of Sweden, on the return of Charles the Twelfth from Turkey, found it prudent to cede a part, that he might not be deprived of the whole. He accordingly concluded a treaty, which though long fettled, was not ratified till the 17th of July 1714. with George, as elector of Hanover; by which it was agreed that Bremen and Verden should be put into the possession of the king of England, on the condition, of paying f. 150,000, and declaring war against Sweden. In consequence of this treaty, George joined the coalition against Sweden, and a British fleet was, in 1715, dispatched to the Baltic, with the pretence of protecting our trade against the Swedish depredations, but for the real purpose of compelling Sweden to accept a sum of money as an equivalent for those dominions.

The king of Sweden, provoked at the conduct of George the First, and well aware, that in the capacity of elector only, he would not have joined the confederacy against him, directed his efforts of vengeance against the English; his ministers at London, and at the Hague, caballed with the disaffected in England, and preparations were making

to

Period II. to invade Great Britain, with a confiderable army.

1714 to 1720 in favour of the dethroned family.

'The Pretender did not fail taking advantage of this transaction, to render the new \* king odious to his English subjects; and he artfully observed, in his new manifesto, "Whilft the principal powers engaged in the late wars enjoy the bleffings of peace, and are attentive to discharge their debts. and ease their people, Great Britain, in the midst of peace, feels all the load of a war, new debts are contracted, new armies are raifed at home. Dutch forces are brought into these kingdoms; and by taking possession of the Duchy of Bremen, in violation of the public faith, a door is opened by the usurper to let in an inundation of foreigners from abroad, and to reduce these nations to a state of dependence on one of the most inconsiderable provinces of the empire."

The advocates for Townshend and Walpole, have afferted that they uniformly counteracted the acquisition of Bremen and Verden, and that their opposition to that favourite object of Hanoverian politics, was the principal cause of their subsequent disgrace. But whatever blame or merit results from that measure, attaches to them; for I discover among the papers committed to my inspection, unequivocal proofs, that they approved, in the strongest manner, the proposed acquisition solving land, afterwards pensionary of Holland, and the considential friend of lord Townshend, had

<sup>\*</sup> Tindal, vol. 18. p. 451. † Townshend Papers.

declared, in a letter dated March 10th, 1717, "As Chapter 14. much as the crown of Great Britain is superior to the electoral cap, so much is the king interested to facrifice Bremen and Verden for a peace, rather than continue any longer in a war." But Townshend was fo far from approving the facrifice, that he observed in answer; "I am of opinion, that March 17. every attempt should be made to induce the king of Sweden to make peace, without depriving him of any of his dominions fituated out of the empire, for in regard to his German provinces, I must tell you frankly, without any partiality to the pretensions of the king, but simply with a view to the interests of Great Britain and Holland, that we must not suffer Sweden to retain any longer those gates of the empire, which, fince the peace of Westphalia, the has never made use of but for the purpose of introducing confusion and disorder, or of turning Germany from the pursuit of its true interests against France." And in another part of the fame letter, he adds, "I lay it down as a principle, that for the advantage and tranquillity of Europe, the king of Sweden ought to be deprived of those provinces which have supplied him with the means of doing fo much mischief."

Horace Walpole, in his pamphlet, "The Interest of Great Britain steadily pursued," has amply expatiated on this subject, and explained the motives which induced his brother to favour this purchase. "It is the interest of this country," he observes, "that those two provinces, which command the navigation of the Elbe and Weser, the

only

Period II. 1714 to 1720. only inlets from the British seas into Germany, and which, in case of any disturbance in the North, are most capable of protecting or interrupting the British trade to Hamburgh, should rather be annexed to the king's electoral dominions, than remain in the hands of Denmark, who has frequently formed pretensions on that city; or of Sweden, who has molested our commerce in the Baltic."

Treaty with France.

The next great object which the British cabinet had in view, was to secure the tranquillity of Great Britain, by forming such alliances with the European powers, as would counteract the intrigues of the Pretender abroad, deprive him of foreign affistance, and awe his followers into submission.

Townshend and Walpole were well aware, that the danger of invasions and interior troubles, did not fo much proceed from the efforts of the difaffected at home, as from the hopes of affiftance from France. If the prospect of French interpofition could be removed, or the effect counteracted, tranquillity would be the necessary and unavoidable consequence. To attain that great end, only two methods could be adopted; the one to form fo intimate a connection with the Emperor and Holland, as to fet France at defiance; and the other to secure the friendship of France, and to employ the public and private efforts of that power, which had hitherto either openly or covertly promoted the restoration of the dethroned family, and encouraged the efforts of the Jacobites in Great Britain, against that very family, and in support of the Protestant succession.

Chapter 14. 1716.

No charge was ever more frequently or more violently urged against the principles of the administration, which Walpole either directed, or in which he co-operated before he acquired the power and influence of prime minister, than that of deferting the house of Austria, our natural ally, and of joining with France, our inveterate enemy. I shall therefore lav before the reader the motives which induced the two brother ministers to prefer. at this particular juncture, the connection with France to the union with the House of Austria. To Townshend and Walpole is undoubtedly due the credit or reproach of having first formed the project of that alliance, and of having carried that fcheme into execution, in opposition to the opinion of Sunderland and Stanhope, and in direct

The death of Louis the Fourteenth, on the 1st Death of Louis of September 1715, had given a new aspect to the the Fourteenth. affairs of France and of Europe, and hastened the final conclusion of those complicated negotiations which the treaty of Utrecht had entailed upon a British administration. Although, during the latter days of that bigotted and ambitious monarch, the bleffings of peace were the constant theme of his conversation, a passion for glory, and the frenzy of war, still lurked in his heart. His cabals with the mal-contents in England, his connivance at the intrigues of Ormond and Bolingbroke at Paris, the permission of providing arms and ammunition, and the preparations making at Dunkirk

contradiction to the first views of the Hanoverian

ministers.

Period II. for an attack upon England, were too manifest to 1714 to 1720. escape observation.

Under these circumstances, the earl of Stair, who had fuperfeded Prior in his embaffy at Paris, made fecret overtures to the duke of Orleans, who was apprehensive left the king of Spain should wrest the regency out of his hands; and at a meeting with du Bois, the confidential agent \* of the duke of Orleans, promised the affistance of England to fecure the regency to the duke on the death of Louis the Fourteenth, and his fuccession to the crown of France, should the dauphin, afterwards Louis the Fifteenth, die without issue. Stair reiterated these affurances in a personal interview with the duke; who folemnly pledged himfelf not to affift the Pretender, and to demolish the sluices Conduct of the at Mardyke. Similar offers were renewed, in a still

regent.

stronger manner, on the decease of the king of France. Hints were at the same time thrown out, that the true way to establish a perfect underflanding between the two countries, would be to fend the Pretender out of Lorraine, and his two adherents, Ormond and Bolingbroke, out of France. But the duke of Orleans had no fooner fucceeded in annulling the testament of Louis the Fourteenth, and fecured to himfelf the regency without restrictions, than he ceased to express himself so warm a friend to George the First; but while he gave affurances that he would demolish Mardyke, answered nothing positive with respect to the Pretender, Ormond, and Bolingbroke, and fecretly af-1 - 1001 30

<sup>\*</sup> Hardwicke State Papers, vol. 2,

fifted, or at least connived at, the invasion of Chapter 14. Great Britain.

When these attempts of the Pretender had failed of fuccess, and the standard of rebellion was overthrown, the regent found it his interest \* to court the friendship of England, whose assistance might be necessary in securing to him the crown of France in case of the death of Louis the Fifteenth, who was a weak and fickly boy. It was generally fuspected that Philip the Fifth would not think himself bound by his renunciation of the crown of France; and as Spain, under the administration of cardinal Alberoni, was beginning to awake from her lethargy, and to make vast preparations both by land and fea, du Bois suggested that the sole · purpose of these exertions was to affert the rights, of Philip to the crown of France. The regent accordingly renewed his overtures; but the king, incenfed at his former equivocal conduct, would not cordially liften to his offers, and opened a negotiation with the court of Vienna and the States General for a separate defensive alliance. In con-Alliance with fequence of these resolutions, the ancient alliance the Emperor with the United Provinces was renewed at Westminster on the 16th of February; a new defensive treaty with the Emperor was concluded on the

and Holland.

Hardwicke's State Papers, vol. 2. p. 550s

<sup>\*</sup> The fudden change of behaviour of the regent and his court, occasioned by the suppression of the rebellion, appears in lord Stair's Journal, "A la cour on est tout etonné; les plus sages commencent à traiter le Chevalier de St. George du Pretendant. Il y a deux jours qu'il etoit le roy d'Angleterre par tout, et tout le monde avoit levé le masque. Il n'y avoit plus en seul François, quasi personne de la cour, qui mettoit le pied chez moy."

Period II. 25th of May; and the British cabinet informed 1714 to 1720. the regent, that the departure of the Pretender to the other fide of the Alps, was an indispensable preliminary. In vain France attempted to prevent the union of the three powers, by offering to conclude a defensive alliance with Great Britain and the United Provinces, and in case of a war with the Emperor, to observe a neutrality in the Low Countries. The infidiousness of this propofal, did not escape the observation of Townshend. who, in a letter to Horace Walpole, reprobated it as chimerical and full of delusion \*; and expressed a determination to form fuch alliances with the Emperor and the States General, as would let the French see, that if they had a mind to fall out with one of them, they would certainly bring the rest into the quarrel.

\* Letter from Townshend to Horace Walpole, 27th December 1715.

Walpole Papers.

"This morning the three mails, which came in from Holland, brought me your letters of the 27th and 31ft N, S. which I have read to his majesty, who was glad to see that the French ambassador was disappointed in his hopes of the great effects his proposal of neutrality for the Austrian Low Countries, in case of a war, would have in Holland, Indeed the project feems so chimerical, and is so full of delusion, that it was hardly fit to be feriously offered by one, or received by the other. And none but France, who is used to contrive such amusing schemes, could pretend to propose to stipulate with a third power, a neutrality for the dominions belonging to another, who may not confent to it. For what could fuch a convention between the Dutch and the French fignify, if the emperor, who is mafter of the country, should not think it for his interest to mind it? Methinks we are giving opportunities to France to play over the same game they did after the peace of Ryswick, when the terrible apprehensions of a new war, made us and the Dutch run into the measures of the Partition Treaty, which was believed might be a wonderful preservative against a war, but in effect, proved the source, and chief occasion of it. We here, the States may be fure, shall not be fond to engage in a new war, who feel the effects of one at present in our bowels; let us, therefore, keep to our old maxims, and unite frongly together. The way to avoid a war, is not to be much afraid of one, and to form such an union among the allies, as to let the French see, that if they have a mind to fall out with one of us, they will certainly bring all the rest into the quarret."

Thefe

These vigorous measures alarmed the regent; Chapter 14, and induced him now to court, with zeal and sincerity, the friendship of England. Stair availed vigorous and himself of these savourable sentiments, to promote prudent measures of the success of the negotiation. But his address, British cabinet, and the influence which he had gained over the regent, gave umbrage to Torcy, d'Huxelles, and the French ministers who were averse to the treaty; and they had interest sufficient to have the negotiation transferred to the Hague, under the direction of Chateauneus, the French ambassador, who was hostile to the whole transaction.

Horace Walpole, as minister from England, conducted the business with great ability. He counteracted the intrigues of Chateauneus, and threw a momentary spirit into the weak and wavering counsels of the Dutch republic. He saw and appreciated the advantages which would result from an alliance with France, in insuring domestic security and foreign tranquillity. He was apprehensive left the insidious conduct of the regent might so far excite a just, thought imprudent indignation in the king and ministry, as to induce them to reject all overtures of accommodation with France, and laboured incessantly to avert what he justly considered so great an evil \*.

In

<sup>\* &</sup>quot;If I may venture to give your lordship my own sentiments upon this matter, it is very naturall to think that France has two views in her present conduct; 1°, if the regent should propose to enter into new engagements with his majesty, and the States, and they should accept of his proposall, and make a treaty with him, he may design by that means to amuse and disarm them, and thereby have a better opportunity to attack either; or 2do, if the regent's offers of this nature should be rejected, he may hope to take an advantage of such a refusall.

Period II. In a conference with penfionary Heinfius, of 1714 to 1720. which Horace Walpole gives an account in a private letter to Lord Townshend, he details, in a few words, the advantages which would refult to the king and nation, from an alliance with France ...

> Townshead had previously adopted the same fentiments; and it was in a great meafure owing to his fuggestions, that the British cabinet opened

a refufall, and to infinuate, both in England and Holland, that his majesty has a design to keep his forces on foot; and to quarrell with France; by not forgetting what is path, nor being willing to come to a better understanding with the regent; and if such a notion should once take place, it would have a very ill effect in both countrys; but to disappoint France in these two views, may it not be adviseable not to talk directly against an alliance with France, to prevent further mischiefs, at least no further than to show how necessary it is, after the regent's late conduct, to conclude the defensive treaty with the Emperour, preferable to any other whatfoever, fince it cannot be expected that his majetty should seek the friendship and considence of France, after the usage he has received from her; and if the regent should make any proposition for an alliance with his majetty, and the States, it may be so far received as to have it leisurely considered, and his majesty has reason and right enough to insist upon some certain articles to be made part of that treaty, which, if accepted and executed, may putt us out of all apprehensions of the Pretender; and if rejected, will expose the regent's ill designs to all the world. In the mean time, I suppose, that the defensive alliance with the Emperour should be promoted as much as possible, and a force by fea and land, sufficient for our security, be kept up. For as of one side we must take care of not being duped by France, we must on the other avoyd being thought defirous of a quarrell, and irreconcileable, even for our own security, and the preservation of the peace." Walpole Papers.

+ " The present situation of affairs in England can by no means

be agreeable to him. On one hand, it can't be fafe or prudent for his majesty to break his troops and disarm himself, untill he has reafon to believe, that France has abandoned the cause of the Pretender; on the other fide the people of England may grow uneafy at the burthen and expense of a standing army; so that it is certainly the intent both of his majefty and his ministry, to have a friendship and confidence with France, that by having nothing to apprehend from thence the government may return to its naturall constitution of guards and garrisons, and enjoying perfect ease and repose; and I added, that it is evident, by his majesty's whole conduct, that he has done all that is possible for him to gain the regent's amity and good will."

But the deceitful behaviour of Chateauneuf, and the dilatory proceedings of the Dutch, enforced the necessity of more expeditious and decisive measures. Lord Stair dexterously counteracted the intrigues of the French ministers at Paris, by contriving to place the negotiation in the hands of du Bois, who repaired to Hanover, where the business was carried on by secretary Stanhope under the immediate auspices of the king. The ne-conclusion of gotiation was conducted with such secrecy and with France, dispatch, that an interval of a few days only elapsed between the arrival of du Bois, and the adjustment of the preliminaries \*.

After a few conferences, du Bois agreed, in the name of the regent, to fend the Pretender beyond the Alps, and to demolish the port of Mardyke 4, called by Lord Townshend, in a letter to August 21. Horace Walpole, "that terrible thorn in the side

of

<sup>\*</sup> Correspondence, Period H.

<sup>†</sup> One of the articles in the treaty of Utrecht, expressly stipulated the demolition of Dunkirk, from which port the trade of England and Holland had been incommoded during the late war. The king of France had literally fulfilled this article; but had, at the same time, opened a new canal at Mardyke, which would have been equally prejudicial to the trade of Great Britain. Prior, at that time embassador at Paris, was ordered to present a memorial, pressing the performance of the 9th article of the treaty of Utrecht. The king of France declared in express terms, that Mardyke was not Dunkirk, and that the treaty of Utrecht did not deprive him of the natural right of a sovereign, to construct such works as he should judge most proper for the preservation of his subjects. The truth is, that the English plenipotentiaries had been extremely negligent; in stipulating the demolition of Dunkirk, it could not be their intention that another and a better harbour should be made on the same coast: But that stipulation should have been inferted; and it was natural that all advantages should be taken by the French, on whom such articles were imposed.

1714 to 1720.

Period H. " of England," on condition of confirming the article in the treaty of Utrecht, which guarantied the fuccession of the crown of France to the house of Orleans, should Louis the Fifteenth die without iffue.

## CHAPTER THE FIFTEENTH.

## 1716.

Situation of Affairs at Home .- Conduct of the Prince of Wales .- Precarious and perplexed Situation of Townsbend and Walpole-Departure of Sunderland .- Causes of the King's Displeasure against Townshend and Walpole .- Their Opposition to his continental Politics .- Walpole's Resistance to the Payment of the German Troops .- Intrigues and Arregance of the Hanoverian Ministers .- Sunderland arries at Hanover .- Cabals with the German Junto .- Gains Stanhope .- Prevails on the King to dismiss Townshend.

TATHILE Townshend was thus fuccessfully employed in restoring consequence and dignity to the British negotiations abroad, and in securing tranquillity at home; while Walpole was conducting the affairs of finance with wisdom and ability, and laying a plan to reduce the interest of the national debt, an active cabal was undermining the favour of the brother ministers; advantage was taken of the king's proneness to jea-

and according to Lord Stair \*, Prior, embassador at Paris, seemed altogether unknowing as to the affair of Mardyke; to have had no instructions while the canal was making; and to have concerned himself no farther about it, fince he delivered the memorials. The earl of Stair profecuted the affair with greater zeal and vigour; it now became an object of importance, and lord Townshend observes to Horace Walpole, "The article of Mardyke is in truth the chief and most essential point for the interest of England, for which his majesty has occafion to defire this alliance."

Tuly 31ft.

<sup>\*</sup> Hardwicke's State Papers, vol. 2. p. 528.

loufy; every engine was employed against them at Chapter 15. Hanover; and after a short, but manly struggle, Townshend was dismissed, and Walpole resigned his employment.

This change in the administration, was derived Causes of the from the misunderstanding between the king and ministration. the prince of Wales; the opposition of the cabinet to fome of the plans of continental politics proposed at Hanover; the intrigues and arrogance of the Hanoverian junto; and the cabals of Sunderland and Stanhope.

On the king's departure, the prince of Wales Conduct of the had affumed the internal administration of affairs, Wales. and fuch part of foreign transactions as could not be carried on at Hanover. The rebellion having been suppressed, and tranquillity restored, the people became gradually more and more fatisfied with the new government. The king's enemies imputed this fatisfaction, which was the natural consequence of events, to the good conduct of the prince, and likewise affected to spread abroad, that many acts of grace, the opening of the communication from Dover to Calais, and the dispensing with paffports, were owing to the same cause, Reports of his affability and condescension to all persons, without distinction of parties, were circulated, with a mischievous intention to decry the coldness and referve of the king; and his partial acquaintance with the English tongue, was magnified, and represented as a proof of his earnest defire to accommodate himself to the customs of the hation. He increased his popularity by a Chort

Period II. 1714 to 1720.

thort progress into Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire, and addresses were preparing in several places, extelling his wisdom in the administration of affairs, and the graciousness of his manners. These, and other circumstances, together with the extreme popularity of the princess of Wales, were not concealed from the king, and could not fail to augment the disgust he had already entertained against his son. The prince still farther offended the king, by shewing particular attention to the duke of Argyle; by his reserve to the ministers in England, and by the court which he paid to the Tories.

While the ministers were thus exposed to the refentment of the prince, for their superior attachment to his father, rumours were circulated that their favour was declining with the king. In feveral letters to Stanhope, Walpole bitterly complains of their irkfome fituation; and, in the extremity of his chagrin, compares himfelf and his colleagues, to galley flaves, chained to the oar t. In this uneasy situation, they judged it necessary for the king's fervice, to remove the prejudices, and to acquire the confidence of the prince, which their prudence and address had no sooner effected, by destroying the credit of Argyle, than they awakened the fuspicions of the king, who was feelingly alive to fentiments of jealoufy towards his fon.

<sup>\*</sup> Tindal, vol. 19. p. 33. 38.

<sup>+</sup> Political State of Great Britain, vol. 12. p. 140.

<sup>‡</sup> See Correspondence, Period II.

Another cause of the king's displeasure was, Chapter 15. the opposition of the cabinet to the continental politics, and their unwillingness to plunge the opposition to country into a war with Russia. A dispute had continental politics. arisen between the duke and nobles of Mecklenburgh, in which the duke was supported by Peter the Great; the nobles by the Emperor, the king of Prussia, and George the First, as elector of Hanover. George was influenced by Bernsdorf, who, being a noble of that duchy, was irritated against the Czar. Though these potentates embraced contrary sides, their views were the same, the possession of the duke's territories.

Those who indiscriminately censure the conduct of Walpole, have not scrupled to affert, that he embarked in every scheme of aggrandizement which interest or ambition might suggest to the fovereign: on the contrary, in this affair, he and Townshend displayed that manly resistance which does honour to their character, and refutes fuch groundless accusation. In the course of this quarrel, Bernsdorf proposed to Stanhope the wild and daring project of feizing the ships, disarming the forces of the Czar, by means of the Danes, and arrefting and detaining his person until his troops should evacuate Denmark and Germany. Townshend reprobated, in the strongest terms, this violent propofal; represented that the profecution of the war in the north, would be the ruin of England, declared that parliament could not be induced to fanction fuch a profusion of the public money, for purposes foreign to her VOL. I. real Period II. 1714 to 1720.

real interests; recommended a peace with Sweden, and strongly urged the necessity of obtaining that bleffing by fome equivalent restitutions. The freedom of remonstrance used on this occasion, incenfed the king, who declared that he confidered his dearest interests sacrificed to the parsimony of the English ministry. His resentment was still farther inflamed against Walpole, by his declaration of the impracticability of replacing the money advanced for the pay of the troops of Munster and Saxe Gotha, till the receipt of the fums appropriated by parliament to that use. The anger of the king rose so high, that Walpole was reproached with having broken his promife; the minister vindicated himself with becoming spirit, and declared, that though he could not venture to contradict the king's affertion, yet, that if he had ever made fuch a promise, it had escaped his memory.

Influence of

The rapacity and ambition of the German favourites had received feveral checks from the spirit and inflexibility of Townshend and Walpole; they had hoped to appropriate to themselves large sums from the grant of the French lands in the island of St. Christopher, ceded at the peace, and the duches of Munster had engaged for a sum of money to procure a peerage for Sir Richard Child, a violent Tory. Both these measures were counteracted, to the great mortification of the whole junto. The haughty and interested mistress, accustomed to domineer over the ministers of the electorate, could ill brook to be thwarted by the

English cabinet. Robethon displayed his resent- Chapter 15. ment by the most insolent demands, and petulant reproofs \*.

Although the earl of Sunderland, foon after his Arrival and arrival at Gohre, fecured the powerful aid of the intrigues of Sunderland, at Hanoverian junto, by the promise of obtaining a Hanover. repeal of the disqualifying clause in the act of set-October 22.

gain fecretary Stanhope, who owed his appointment folely to the influence of Townshend, and

tlement, yet his intrigues had no other chance of being attended with success, unless he could

the friendship of the Walpoles, and possessed their implicit confidence. As Townshend himself, on Gains Stanaccount of his wife's pregnancy, declined going to Hanover, his colleague was entrusted with that important fervice; he was to keep the king steady to his ministers in England, and to watch and baffle the intrigues which might be formed to remove them. Stanhope appeared peculiarly qualified for this task. A long and intimate connection with Walpole, had bound them in the strictest ties of friendship, and when Walpole recommended him to Townshend, he answered for his integrity, as for his own. Stanhope himfelf had made no application for the office of fecretary. His frequent refidence in camps; and skill in the profession of arms, rendered him, in his own opinion, more fit for a military than a civil station; and when Walpole proposed it, he considered the offer as a matter of raillery, and applied his hand to his

fword.

<sup>\*</sup> See Correspondence, Period II. passim, Political State of Great Britain, vol. 12. p. 477.

Period II. fword \*. It was not till after much perfuafion, 1714 to 1720, and the most solemn affurances, that his compliance would materially contribute to the fecurity of the new administration, that he was induced to accept the post.

One of the principal charges which Stanhope had received from his friends in England, was to be on his guard against the intrigues of Sunderland; who had, under pretence of ill health, obtained the king's permission to go to Aix-la-Chapelle. At the time of his departure, he had given the most possitive assurances of repentance and concern, for his late endeavours to remove his colleagues, and after the most solemn professions of friendship and union, had condescended to ask their advice for the regulation of his conduct at Hanover, to which place he intended to apply for leave to proceed. Townshend and Walpole sufpected his fincerity; they had experienced his abilities; they knew his ambition, and they dreaded the ascendancy which he might obtain, through the channel of the Hanoverians, over the king. But they implicitly trufted in the fagacity and integrity of Stanhope, either to prevent his appearance at Hanover, or, if he came, to counteract his views. Stanhope, however, did not follow their directions, for when Sunderlandedemanded access to the king, instead of opposing, he promoted the request with all his influence .

<sup>\*</sup> From Lord Orford.

<sup>†</sup> See Correspondence.-September 8th. Period II.

1716.

The mode of correspondence adopted, during his Chapter 15. continuance at Hanover, fufficiently proved the unbounded confidence placed in Stanhope. Walpole wrote in his own hand, occasional letters of the most private nature, in which he represented the internal state of affairs, the behaviour of the prince, the fentiments of individuals, and the conduct of Bothmar and other persons who were caballing against them. In addition to this mode of communication, Stephen Poyntz, the confidential fecretary of lord Townshend, was appointed a fupernumerary clerk in the fecretary of ftate's office. His principal employment was to lay before Stanhope fuch occurrences and observations as Townshend and Methuen, who acted as secretary of state during the absence of Stanhope, thought improper to be inferted in their public dispatches. He was never to write but through the channel of a messenger, and Stanhope was requested to communicate these letters only to the king, under the strongest injunctions of secrecy, or to withhold them at discretion. With the same precautions. and by the same conveyance, Stanhope was to send. under cover to Poyntz, fuch particulars as the king might judge improper and inconvenient to be laid before the prince, or the cabinet council \*.

In this confidential correspondence, Townshend and Walpole stated freely their objections to the continental politics, declared their diffatisfaction at

<sup>\*</sup> Poyntz to Secretary Stanhope, 1716. Correspondence, Peried II.

1714 to 1720.

Period II. the interference of the Hanoverians, and their contempt at their venal and interested conduct. They thus put it in his power to betray their private. fentiments, and to increase the aversion of the Hanoverian junto. The seduction therefore of Stanhope from his former friends, was a masterpiece of art, as the defection of the person in whom they placed the most implicit confidence, rendered every attempt to baffle the efforts of Sunderland ineffectual, because the mine was not discovered until it was fprung.

> At what precise period, or by what inducement Stanhope was gained by Sunderland, cannot be politively ascertained; but from the general disinterestedness of his character, I am led to conclude, that he did not lightly betray his friends, or yield to the fuggeftions of Sunderland from venal or ambitious motives. The private information I have received, and the letters which paffed between Stanhope and Walpole, feem to prove, that Sunderland had convinced him, that the English cabinet were fecretly counteracting the conclusion of the alliance with France, that their opposition to the northern transactions was a dereliction of the principles on which the revolution was founded; and he was made to believe that his friend Walpole had broke his word with the king in the affair of the Munster and Saxe Gotha troops.

> This coolness of Stanhope towards the two ministers was still further augmented by the transactions in Holland, and the conduct of Horace Walpole, whose frank and open character scorned to dif-

guise

guife his fentiments, and refused to follow orders Chapter 15. which he confidered as repugnant to honour and plain dealing. He had cenfured the proceedings at Hanover, in regard to the politics of the north, in terms still stronger than those used by Townshend. He lamented that the whole system of affairs in Europe, should be entirely subverted on account of Mecklenburgh. To Horace Walpole had been intrusted the secret negotiation of the defensive treaty with France, and while it was carrying on, the strictest secrecy was enjoined. Afterwards it was thought prudent to remove the negotiation to Hanover, where, as has been already observed, it was conducted by secretary Stanhope himfelf, and du Bois, and the proceedings communicated to Horace Walpole. During its progress he had folemnly affured the penfionary and greffier, that no treaty would be concluded separately from the Dutch; but the urgency of affairs, and the king's impatience to fettle the preliminaries before the regent of France could avail himself of the disfentions with Russia to support the Czar in the affair of Mecklenburgh, rendered it impolitic to wait for the dilatory proceedings of the Dutch republic, and full powers were therefore forwarded to him and lord Cadogan, as joint plenipotentiaries at the Hague, to fign the treaty with du Bois, without farther delay. On the receipt of these orders, Horace Walpole earnestly exhorted Sunderland and Stanhope at Hanover, to intercede with the king to dispense with his figning the treaty, and requested lord Townshend to obtain permis-

1716.

Period II.

fion of the prince of Wales for his return to Eng-1714 to 1720. land, under pretence of ill health. He declared, in the most positive and unequivocal manner, that no confideration on earth should induce him to comply; that he would relinquish all present and future advantages, and lay his life at the king's feet, rather than be guilty of fo nefarious an action. These repeated remonstrances had their effect, and permission was at length granted from Hanover, that he might depart, and leave to Cadogan the fignature of the treaty.

During his residence at Gohre, Sunderland received many marks of favour, and by his confummate address soon acquired the full confidence of the king. He found it no difficult matter to felect, from the numerous transactions in which Townshend had been employed, some apparent instances of disrespect, or of neglect in his department. But it is remarkable, that notwithstanding the known zeal of Townshend for the French treaty, that although he was the original advicer and promoter of it, and had gradually, furmounted the indifference of the king\*, the oppofition of Sunderland, the disapprobation of Stanhope, and the objections of the Hanoverian ministers, yet it was now alledged as a crime against him, that he had purposely delayed its fignature. This extraordinary imputation was conveyed to him in letters from the king, Stanhope, and Sunderland. The letter from the king is miffing, but

<sup>.</sup> Lord Townshend's letter to the king.

that of Sunderland \* will give a striking proof of Chapter 154 the influence he had already gained over his mafter, and the imperiousness of his character, when he delivered his centures in to harth and authoritative a manner to the prime minister in England.

While the answer to the charge was expected at Hanover, Sunderland urged another fubject of complaint, which made a ftill greater impression on the king, and contributed to the success of his intrigues. He availed himfelf, with great address, of the mifunderstanding with the prince of Wales. He infinuated to the king, that Townshend and Walpole were caballing with the duke of Argyle and the earl of Ilay; that their repeated remonstrances to draw him from Hanover, were only so many feints to cover their own infidious designs; that their great object was to detain him abroad; and by urging the necessity of transacting the public business, to induce him to invest the prince of Wales with fuller powers, and enable him to open the parliament, and to obtain an increased, permanent, and independent interest. The effect of these representations was aided by the anxious solicitude which the prince discovered, on all occasions, to open the parliament in person, and by his imprudence in preffing Stanhope, by means of a letter from Townshend, to obtain a speedy answer, announcing the king's definitive refolutions .

These infinuations, seconded by the Hanoverian mistresses and ministers, having made a deep im-

<sup>\*</sup> Correspondence, Period II. November 11.

<sup>†</sup> Correspondence.

pression, Sunderland advised the king to demand of 1714 to 1720. the cabinet council, the heads of the business to be brought forward in the next fession; and to declare that he was defirous of passing the winter at Hanover, if any expedient could be adopted for fummoning the parliament, and transacting affairs. This demand being forwarded to the minister, the council inftantly deliberated on the meffage, and Townshend, anxious to gratify the inclination of the king, transmitted a favourable answer, by his confidential friend and brother-in-law Horace Walpole, who had just arrived from the Hague. He was fo anxious to convey this dispatch with all possible speed, that he quitted London on the 13th of November, the evening of its fignature, left the Hague on the 17th, and, travelling night and day, arrived at Gohre on the 22d. He flattered himself with a favourable reception, as the messenger of good tidings, but found the state of affairs far different from that which his fanguine expectations had fuggested.

> He found the king devoted to Sunderland, and exasperated against his brother and Townshend, to whom the letters on the delay in figning the French treaty, expressive of high indignation, had just been forwarded. He found him still greatly diffatisfied with their opposition to the plan of northern politics, difgusted with the backwardness of Walpole to advance the fubfidies for his troops of Saxe Gotha and Munster, and so strongly impressed with the danger of permitting the prince of Wales to open the parliament in person, as to declare that

1716.

no confideration should induce him to consent to Chapter 15. the grant of differetionary powers for that purpose. He found Stanhope displeased with the conduct of. Townshend, and convinced that his negotiations for the peace with France, and for the operations in the north, were counteracted by the English. cabinet.

The frankness and warmth of his temper, impelled him without difguife to speak plain truths, and to expostulate with a manly freedom and dignified spirit which astounded Sunderland, and disconcerted Stanhope. He reminded Stanhope in particular, that he owed his high fituation to Townshend and his brother; he remonstrated with him for having concurred with their enemies, and affirmed that the fuspicions he had entertained against Townshend were totally groundless. He candidly avowed, that if blame was incurred by any delay in figning the treaty with France, that blame must attach solely to him, whose delicacy prevented him from affixing his name to an act, after he had folemnly affured the leading men in Holland, that England would not conclude a feparate treaty. 'He finally answered for the honour and friendship of the brother ministers in England.

Stanhope, affected with these remonstrances, so forcibly urged by his friend, acknowledged that he had been deceived by false suggestions; spoke of Townshend and Walpole in terms of praise and affection; expressed a high sense of his obligations to them; requested that what was past might be forgotten,

Period II. 1714 to 1720. forgotten, and what was to come might be improved; and promifed in the most solemn manner to use his influence with the king, which he represented as very considerable, in favour of those who had committed to him his present trust. Horace Walpole was fully satisfied with these declarations. Stanhope seemed to act in conformity with his promises, and to labour to efface the ill impressions which the king had entertained of his ministers in England. Sunderland appeared confounded; the Hanoverians abashed; and the king inclined to recover his former satisfaction and complacency.

While these favourable symptoms of returning good will and harmony apparently prevailed, the answer of Townshend to the charges of delaying the signature to the French treaty, arrived at Gohre. To Sunderland's insolent reproofs he did not condescend to make any reply; to Stanhope he wrote only a few lines, testifying his concern and indignation at being betrayed by one in whom he placed the most implicit considence; but his answer to the king\*, contained a full and dignified resutation of the malicious calumnies and misrepresentations of his enemies; and was written in a style and manner, expressing without disguise the high opinion which he entertained of his own character.

This manly and spirited letter appeared to have its due effect. The king, convinced that he had hastily and unjustly accused lord Townshend, candidly acknowledged his mistake. Stanhope, highly

affected

Townshend justifies himfelf.

<sup>\*</sup> November 11. See Correspondence, Period II.

affected with a letter from his friend Walpole, jus- Chapter 1: tifying himself and Townshend from the malicious imputations laid to their charge, renewed his protestations of gratitude and devotion, and requested the interference of Horace Walpole to bring about a thorough reconciliation, and to re-establish the former harmony and good understanding. The king commissioned him to convey the strongest affurances of restored confidence in his faithful counsellors in England; and Horace Walpole quitted Gohre with a full conviction that all refentment had totally fubfided, and that Stanhope was fincere; and he was as anxious to return to England with the good tidings, as he had been eager to repair to Hanover with the letter from the cabinet council.

His journey being fomewhat retarded by unforeseen accidents on the road, and by the difficulty of croffing Maesland Sluys, he did not arrive in London till the 11th of December. He instantly executed his commission; delivered to Townshend and his brother Stanhope's letters, containing the ftrongest assurances of devotion and friendship; announced the king's favourable declarations; reconciled all parties, and re-established, as he thought, the most perfect harmony and good understanding in the cabinet. But he had scarcely effected this happy reconciliation, before dispatches were brought from Stanhope, announcing the king's command to remove Townshend from the Removal of office of secretary of state, and to offer him the Townshend. lord lieutenancy of Ireland. As Brereton, who

conveyed

Period II.

conveyed these dispatches without being apprised of their contents, could not have quitted Gohre more than three days subsequent to the departure of Horace Walpole, it was obvious that he had been duped and deceived, that the plan for the removal of Townshend had been then settled; and that the folemn promifes, made by Stanhope, were never intended to be fulfilled. A letter from Sunderland to one of his friends, of the same date with those that brought the dismission of Townshend, fully proved the motives which influenced the king to countenance this proceeding. It accused Townshend, Walpole, and the chancellor, of caballing with the prince of Wales and Argyle, and forming defigns against the king's authority\*. In fact, the letter from the cabinet council, which Horace Walpole had conveyed to Gohre, was the death warrant of Townshend's administration. It contained many expressions and opinions highly unfavourable to the fentiments and inclinations of the king, and wholly opposite to the views of the Hanoverian junto. By the demand, that full and discretionary powers should be sent to the prince of Wales, it confirmed the opinion fuggested by lord Sunderland, that the object of the ministers in England, was to exalt the fon above the father, and to shew that the business of parliament could be transacted by the prince of Wales. It irritated the king to fuch a degree, that the immediate removal of the minister would have been the inevi-

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<sup>\*</sup> See Townshend's letter to Slingelandt, January, 1717. Correspondence,

table consequence, had not the presence of Horace Chapter 15. Walpole, and his expostulations with Stanhope, disconcerted, for a short time, the plans of Sunderland. But the favourable impressions which his representations and the manly reply of Townshend had effected, were foon worn off by the fuggestions of the Hanoverian junto; the king's jealoufy again returned with redoubled force, and Townshend was dismissed.

1716.

Townshend received the unexpected account of Town end declines the his dismission with no less surprise than indignational lord lieutenantion. In his letter to the king, he announced his cy, Dec. 112. resolution to decline the offer of the lord lieutenancy, with great dignity and spirit.

" \* I have received with deference, and with His letter to the utmost submission, your majesty's commands, the king. intimated by M. fecretary Methuen, depriving me of the office of fecretary of state. I most humbly demand permission to remind your majesty of what I faid, when you did me the honour to confer on me that employment; that I should esteem myself happy, if I had as much capacity as zeal and affection for your majesty's service, in which case I am fure that your majesty would have every reason to be fatisfied with my fervices. I can venture to affirm with truth, that the defire of testifying my gratitude has been the only motive capable of hitherto supporting me under the fatigues of my employment. I am highly fenfible of the honour which your majefty confers on me, by condescend-

<sup>\*</sup> Townshend Papers .- See the French letter, of which this is the original draught, in the Correspondence.

Period II. 1714 to 1720.

ing to appoint me lord lieutenant of Ireland: But as my domestic affairs do not permit me to reside out of England, I should hold myself to be totally unworthy of the choice which your majefty has been pleafed to make, if I were capable of enjoying the large appointments annexed to that honourable office, without doing the duty of it. I trust that your majesty will grant me the permission to attend to the private affairs of my family, which I have too much neglected. Yet I will venture to affure your majesty, that whatever may be my fituation, your majesty will always find me a faithful and grateful fervant, anxious to promote, with all his power, your majesty's service; having the honour of being, with the most inviolable attachment, fire, your majesty's most humble, most obedient, and most faithful subject and servant."

In a short letter to Stanhope, Townshend calmly reproached him for the duplicity of his conduct, and particularly dwelt on the violation of his promises to Horace Walpole. But Stanhope had to encounter the still severer reproaches from his considential friend, Walpole. To him he opened himself in a private letter, which was delivered twenty-four hours before that which announced the dismission of Townshend. In this apology he was extremely anxious to justify his conduct, and to attribute his acquiescence to the positive commands of the king, who bitterly complained of the warmth and impracticability of Townshend's temper and manners, and he imputed solely to his own influence, that the disgrace of the minister was sostened

of

by the offer of the lord lieutenancy. He took Chapter 15. merit to himself for having removed the prejudices which the king had entertained against Walpole, and earneftly exhorted him to employ his interest with lord Townshend to accept the proffered dignity. The reader will find, in the cor- Walpole rerespondence, this specious justification of his proaches Stanconduct, and the reproachful answers of Walpole, who after complaining of the hardship with which Townshend was treated, observed, that it was still more unjust to load him with false imputations to justify such ill treatment, and concluded with expressing his resolution to act invariably with him.

## CHAPTER THE SIXTEENTH:

## 1716-1717.

Discontents in England and Holland at the Disgrace of Townshend. Sunderland and Stanbope, and the Hanoverians, are alarmed .-Apologize for their Conduct .- The King prevails upon him to accept the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland .- Motives for his Conduct .- Townsbend and Walpole coldly support Government .- Sunderland increases his Party.-Townshend dismissed from the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland .- Walpole proposes and carries his Scheme for reducing the Interest of the National Debt .- Resigns .- Many of the leading Whigs follow his Example.—Weakness of the new Administration.

THE precipitate manner in which Townshend was Alarms on removed from the office of fecretary of state, dismission of removed from the office of fecretary of state, Townshead. was occasioned by a violent burst of resentment and jealoufy in the king. But as foon as the first emotions of anger had subsided, and the first raptures

VOL. I.

Period II. 1714 to 1720. of triumph among those who had obtained his disgrace had given way to sober and serious reflection, the whole body began to be alarmed at the fatal consequences which seemed likely to ensue from that event.

In England.

Reports were transmitted from England, that these measures had excited very serious discontents and miftrusts amongst the monied men in the city; that the greater part of the Whigs were highly exasperated; that of the cabinet council, Devonshire, Orford, Cowper, Walpole, and Methuen adhered inviolably to the fallen minister, and that their fecession might create a dangerous division, and diffract the plans already concerted for the enfuing fession. But above all considerations they dreaded the opposition of Walpole, who took a principal lead in the house of commons; and whose ability for the affairs of finance was so well understood, as to render it difficult to supply his place at the head of the treasury at this particular juncture, when he was forming a scheme, which had been highly applauded by the king, for reducing the interest of the national debt.

In Holland.

These apprehensions were not confined to England, but extended to foreign parts, and particularly Holland. Many calumnious imputations having been infinuated by Sunderland and the Hanoverians, Townshend wrote a full and spirited justification of his and Walpole's conduct, and detailed the real motives which had occasioned their disgrace, in a letter \* to his

confidential friend, Slingelandt, afterwards pen- Chapter 16. Ronary of Holland; who strongly expressed regret 1716 to 1717, at his dismission, and concern at his resusal to accept the lord lieutenancy of Ireland.

This letter had a very striking effect upon his friends in Holland. Pensionary Heinsius, Fagel, Slingelandt, Duvenvoirde, and other leading men in that republic, expressed the most serious concern at the satal consequences which might result to the united interests of the two countries from this satal division; and reprobated a measure, which, according to their opinion, was calculated to make the crown totter on the head of the king. The opinion of these men, warmly attached to the English interest, had great weight with George the First, during the short time which he passed at the Hague, on his return to England.

The terror of Sunderland and Stanhope on this Apprehensions occasion, is fully proved by the extraordinary at-and Stanhope. tention they now paid to Townshend and Walpole. Sunderland apologized for having accused them of caballing with the duke of Argyle; and acknowledged that the report had originated from a misrepresentation of Lord Cadogan, whose hasty temper was well known. He expressed his regret and repentance for having written an insolent letter \* to the earl of Orford, in which he had insulted the cabinet ministers who adhered to Townshend. Both he and Stanhope vied in

making

<sup>\*</sup> See letter from M. Duvenvoirde to Lord Townshend .- Correspondence.

making the most artful excuses for their past con-1714 to 1720 duct; declared that they did not in the smallest degree contribute to his difgrace, and threw the whole blame on the Hanoverians. They finally expatiated on the danger to the true Whig interest, if Townshend now deserted his tried friends. Stanhope wrote in the strongest manner to Walpole, and used every argument to appease his refentment. He renewed his affeverations, that the removal of the minister was the fole determination of his royal master, pronounced it an imposfible attempt to think of perfuading the king to recall his commands; expressed his apprehensions of the dangerous confequences, if Walpole and the other leaders of the Whigs should deem it neceffary to refign; and repeated his earnest entreaties to prevent things from being carried to fuch extremities as he dreaded to think of. He exhorted Methuen, who declared his resolution of acting with Walpole, not to defert the good cause; and throw the king into the hands of the Tories; but folicited his humble interposition with Townshend and Walpole: "They may posfibly" he added, "unking their mafter, or (what I do before God think very possible) make him abdicate; but they will never force him to make Townshend secretary \*." On their arrival in England, they acted in the same abject manner, and continued to make the most humble submisfion.

<sup>\*</sup> Letter from Stankope to Methuen .- Correspondence.

The king himself treated Townshend with the Chapter 16. most flattering marks of distinction. He apolo-1716 to 1717. gized in person for the precipitation with which Conduct of the he had deprived him of the feals, and acknowledged that he had been imposed upon by false reports; he fent Bernsdorf to represent the fatal effects which would be derived from his opposition at this period. That artful minister offered him, in his mafter's name, a restoration to his former favour, and every fatisfaction which he could defire; declared that the king having taken from him the feals, could not immediately restore them confifently with his own honour; promifed that no other changes should be made; intreated him to accept the proffered dignity. He assured him that he might confider that office only as a temporary post, and be permitted to resign it at pleasure, in exchange for any other he should prefer \*.

As it was impossible, after the insolent letters of Townshend Sunderland, and the insidious conduct of Stan-accepts the lord lieutenhope, that he could ever repose any considence in ancy. those who had thus insulted and deceived him, he would have acted a nobler and a wifer part, had he declined accepting any office. Had he persisted in his refusal of the lord lieutenancy, had Walpole, Devonshire, Orford, Cowper, Methuen, and Pulteney, instantly resigned on his dimission, the party of Sunderland was so weak and insufficient, that he could not have obtained a majority

<sup>\*</sup> Duvenvoirde to Lord Townshend .- Correspondence.

Period II. in parliament. But Townshend, mollified by the 1714 to 1720: folicitations of the king, overcome by the importunities of his friends in Holland, and dreading the confequences of a difunion of the Whigs at this moment, when an invasion from Sweden was threatened, at length accepted the vice-royalty, and remaining in England, affifted at the deliberations of the cabinet. All the friends of Townshend were fuffered to continue in their places, Methuen, who had acted as fecretary of state during the absence of Stanhope, now succeeded to the fouthern department. Walpole remained at the head of the treasury: and the great body of the Whigs still appeared to act with union and cordiality. In consequence of this apparent amity, the op-

Proceedings in parliament.

Feb. 21.

March 4.

Fresh divi . fions.

position in the commons was so trifling, that the address, thanking the king for laying before the house the paper proving the projected invasion from Sweden, passed unanimously \*; and when the estimates relating to the land forces were prefented, the motion for putting off the confideration, was carried by a triumphant majority of 222 voices against 57 +.

But the good understanding between the different members of administration, did not long continue. It foon appeared, that the king's promifes of favour, made by Bernsdorf to Townshend and Walpole, were not fulfilled; and that he placed his chief confidence in Sunderland and

<sup>\*</sup> Journals Chandler.

Stanhope. New divisions took place; Townshend Chapter 16. and Walpole continued to defend the measures of 1716 to 1717. government, but their support was cold and formal, and fo different from their former zeal, as plainly shewed extreme distatisfaction. Sunderland had now confiderably increased his party, and thought himself sufficiently strong to carry on the public bufiness, and defy the opposition. In this fituation, an open rupture in the cabinet was unavoidable. The first public symptoms of this difference appeared in the house of commons. On a motion that a fupply be granted to enable the king to concert fuch measures with foreign princes and states, as may prevent any apprehensions from the defigns of Sweden for the future: Walpole, who on all fuch occasions used to give a great bias to the house, maintained a profound filence, and the resolution was carried by a majority of only 4 March oth. voices \*

As it was evident that this mode of inimical proceeding originated from the party of which Townshend was leader, he received, on the same Townshend's evening, a letter from Stanhope, announcing his dilimission. difmiffion.

The king himself so highly appreciated the fer-Walpole revices and talents of Walpole, that he dreaded his refignation, and was perfuaded to remove Townfhend, under the belief that he would still remain at the head of the treasury. When Walpole, therefore, on the following morning, requested an

<sup>&</sup>quot; Journals.

Period II. audience, and gave up the feals, the king was ex-1714 to 1720. tremely surprised. He refused to accept his refignation, expressed a high sense of his services in the kindest and strongest terms; declared that he had no thoughts of parting with fo faithful a counsellor; intreated him not to retire, and replaced the feals in his hat. To this Walpole replied, with no less concern than firmness, that however well inclined he might be to obey his majesty's commands, yet it would be impossible to ferve him faithfully with those ministers to whom he had lately given his favour, "They will propose to me," he faid, "both as chancellor of the exchequer, and in parliament, fuch things, that if I agree to support them, my credit and reputation will be loft; and if I disapprove or oppose them, I must forseit your majesty's favour. For I, in my flation, though not the author, must be answerable to my king and to my country for all the measures which may be adopted by administration." At the conclusion of these words, he again laid the feals upon the table; the king returned them not less than ten times, and when the minister as often replaced them on the table, he gave up the struggle, and reluctantly accepted his refignation, expressing great concern and much resentment at his determined perseverance. At the conclusion of this affecting scene, Walpole came into the adjoining apartment, and those who were present, witneffed the anguish of his countenance, and observed that his eyes were suffused with tears.

Those who immediately entered into the closet, Chapter 16. found the king no less disturbed and agitated \*.

1716 to 1717.

These removals were soon followed by an almost Further total change in the administration. Devonshire, changes. Orford, Methuen, and Pulteney, refigned; Stanhope was appointed first lord of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer; Sunderland and Addison secretaries of state; the duke of Bolton lord lieutenant of Ireland, and the duke of Newcastle lord chamberlain; the earl of Berkley first lord of the admiralty, and the duke of Kingston retained the office of privy feal, to which he had been nominated in the preceding year, on the refignation of Sunderland, who was made freasurer of Ireland for life.

## CHAPTER THE SEVENTEENTH:

## 1717-1719.

Walpole proposes his Plan for reducing the Interest of the National Debt .-His Resignation excites warm Debates .- Altercation with Stanbope .-Remarks on the baneful Spirit of a systematic Opposition to all the Measures of Government.-Walpole not exempted from that Censure.-His uniform Opposition, and Influence in the House of Commons.

THE refignation of Walpole happened at a time Walpole's when he was exerting his abilities for finance, ducing the nain the arrangement of a scheme highly advanta-tional debt. geous to the country. When he was first placed at the head of the treasury, the national debt

<sup>\*</sup> This interesting anecdote is taken from a letter of Horace Walpole to Etough, dated Wolterton, October 12, 1751. See Correspondence.

amounted to 50 millions, and although the com-1714 to 1720, mon interest of money had been reduced in the late reign to 5 per cent. yet the interest of some of the debts was as high as 8, and none lower than 6; fo that the average was 7 per cent. The difference between this rate of interest, and that on private mortgages, presented a real fund for leffening the public debt.

> This debt was confidered under two heads; redeemable, and irredeemable. The redeemable, or fuch debts as had been provided for by parliament with a redeemable interest of so much per cent. the public had a right and power to discharge whenever they were able, either by providing money for fuch proprietors as infifted upon money, or by offering new terms, in discharge of all former conditions, which, if accepted by the proprietors, was to be deemed an actual redemption of the first debt, as if it had been paid off in ready money. As for the irredeemable debts, or long and short annuities, nothing could be effected without the absolute confent of the proprietors. The only method, therefore, to treat with them, was to offer fuch conditions as they should deem advanta\_ geous\*.

Upon these principles Walpole gave the first hint of this great scheme, by proposing to borrow f. 600,000, bearing interest only 4 per cent. and to apply all favings, arifing from the intended redemptions, for the purpose of reducing and difcharging the national debt, which was the first refolution ever taken in parliament in order to raife Chapter 17, or establish a general sinking sund \*. When he 1717 to 1719 brought his scheme into the house, the project March 23, appeared so well digested and advantageous, that 1717 the opposition which had been intended was converted into approbation, and every article was April 10th, agreed to.

Unfortunately for the completion of this great arrangement, the able projector was no longer in office. On bringing in the bill, Walpole gave a hint that he had refigned his places, by faying, "that he now presented it as a country gentleman. but hoped that it would not fare the worfe for having two fathers, and that his fucceffor would take care to bring it to perfection ." The difficulties which he had to encounter in this scheme. will appear from the confideration, that no reduction of interest could be made without the confent of the public creditors themselves. It was folely by his address and management, that the companies of the Bank and South Sea agreed not only to reduce their own interest, but to furnish large fums for the discharge of such proprietors of the redeemables as should refuse to comply with an equal reduction; a striking proof of the general esteem in which he was held by the proprietors of the national debts; of their regard for his judgment, and confidence in his equity.

The refignation of Walpole caused a great sen- Defends his sation in the house of commons, where regret for refignation,

<sup>\*</sup> Historical Register for 1717, p. 150.—Some Considerations concerning the Public Funds, 1735, p. 11.

<sup>+</sup> Chandler.

Period II. 1714 to 1720.

the want of his talents for finance, seemed to prevail, and he was as much inveighed against for refigning, as he was afterwards reviled for remaining in power. His withdrawing from government at this crifis, was called a defection; a criminal conspiracy, with a view to embarrass the king, and to force him to comply with his unwarrantable demands. In answer to these accusations, Walpole justly observed, "That persons who had accepted places in the government, had often been reflected on for carrying on defigns, and acting contrary to the interest of their country; but that he had never heard a man arraigned for laying down one of the most profitable places in the kingdom: that for his own part, if he would have complied with fome measures, it had not been in the power of any of the present ministers to remove him; but that he had reasons for resigning his employ ments, with which he had acquainted his majesty, and might, perhaps, in a proper time, declare them to the house. In the mean while, the tenour of his conduct should shew, that he never intended to make the king uneafy, or to embarrafs his affairs \* "

Reflected on by Stanhope.

But a more ferious charge was brought against him by Stanhope, who observed, in the heat of debate, that "he would endeavour to make up by application, honesty, and difinterestedness, what he wanted in abilities and experience. That he would content himself with the salary and lawful

perquifites of his office; and, though he had Chapter 17. quitted a better place, he would not quarter him- 1717 to 1719. felf upon any body. That he had no brothers, nor other relations to provide for; and that upon his first entering into the treasury, he had made a standing order against the late practice of granting reversions of places." Walpole, touched with these infinuations, complained in the first place of breach of friendship, and betraying private conversation. He then frankly owned, that while he was in employment, he had endeavoured to ferve his friends and relations; than which, in his opinion, nothing was more reasonable and just,. "As to the granting of reversions," he added, "I am willing to acquaint the house with the meaning of the charge which is now urged against me. I have no objections to the German ministers, whom the king brought with him from Hancver, and who, as far as I had observed, had behaved themselves like men of honour; but, there is a mean fellow \*, of what nation I know not, who is eager to difpose of employments. This man, having obtained the grant of a reversion, which he designed for his fon, I thought it too good for him, and therefore referved it for my own fon. On this difappointment, the foreigner was fo impertinent as to demand f. 2,500, under pretence that he had been offered that fum for the reversion; but I was wifer than to comply with his demands. And I am bold to acknowledge, one of the chief reasons that

made me refign was, because I could not connive Period II. 1714 to 1720 at some things that were carrying on \*."

Conduct in opposition.

When Walpole afferted in the house, that he never intended to embarrass the affairs of government, he either was not fincere in his professions. or if he was, did not possess that patriotic and difinterested firmness which could resist the spirit of party; for almost from the moment of his refignation, to his return into office, we find him uniform in his opposition to all the measures of government. We see him leagued with the Tories, and voting with Sir William Wyndham, Bromley, Shippen, and Snell; and we observe, not without regret at the inconfiftency of human nature. Shippen expressing his fatisfaction, that Walpole, when contending for the fervice of his country, was no more afraid than himself of being called a Jacobite by those who wanted other arguments to fupport their debates i. We find him even oppoling the mutiny bill, that necessary measure for the regulation of military discipline, and in the heat of argument, making use of this memorable expression, " He that is for blood, shall have blood": But though he spoke thus strenuously against the bill, he voted for it, and secured a large majority. Being reproached for his apparent inconfiftency, he justified himself by declaring, that, although in the debate he was of opinion that mutiny and defertion should be punished by the civil magistrate, yet he was convinced that those

Mutiny bill.

<sup>\*</sup> Chandler.

<sup>†</sup> Chandler, vol. 6. p. 156.

crimes should be punished by the martial law, Chapter 17. rather than escape with impunity \*. We find him 1717 to 1719. taking an active part against the repeal of the oc-Schism bill. casional and schism bills, notwithstanding his animated declaration, on a former occasion, that the schism bill had more the appearance of a decree of Julian the apostate, than a law enacted by a protestant parliament, fince it tended to raise as great a persecution against our protestant brethren, as either the primitive christians ever suffered from the heathen emperors, or the protestants from popery and the inquisition +. In support of the Speaks for the question for reducing the troops, he afforded a the army. Striking instance of inconsistency, by enlarging on the common topic of the danger of a standing army in a free nation, and by infifting that 12,000 men were fully fufficient. Yet at this very period, a rebellious spirit continued to subsist in England, and prevailed still more in Scotland. Although the king of Sweden's defign to support the Pretender had been discovered, yet he still perfisted in his resolution, and waited only for a favourable opportunity of carrying his project into execution. The queen of Spain, and cardinal Alberoni, had revived war in the fouth of Europe, and were forming vast preparations; and the reception and encouragements given to the adherents of the Pretender, were fure symptoms of their inclinations in his favour. Walpole was well aware of all these circumstances, and could

\* Hardwicke Papers.

<sup>†</sup> Chandler, 1712 .- Tindal.

Period II. not be ignorant that the reduction of the army
1714 to 1720 must have been attended with fatal consequences,
and therefore his support of this measure could
be dictated only by party resentment.

Acquittal of Oxford.

We find him, who had spoken with such heat and force of argument against the makers of the peace of Utrecht, who had been the indefatigable chairman of the fecret committee, and had drawn up that able report, which brought fuch heavy accufations against Oxford, now grown languid and lukewarm in the profecution, abfenting \* himfelf from the committee fo often, that another chairman was chosen in his place, and ironically complimented by Shippen, that he who was the most forward and active in the impeachment, had abated in his warmth fince he was out of place . At length, by his connivance, a feigned quarrel as to the mode of proceeding took place between the two houses, and no prosecutors appearing on the day fixed for the continuance of the trial, Oxford was unanimously acquitted. Walpole also, and the Whigs in opposition,

Inquiry into the conduct of lord Cadogan.

whom Shippen humorously called his new allies, zealously supported the inquiry into the conduct of lord Cadogan, for fraud in the charge of transporting the Dutch troops, at the time of the rebellion, to and from Great Britain. Walpole spoke in this debate near two hours, and in the course of his speech, strained his voice so high, and

used such violent efforts, that the blood burst

June 4th.

from his nose, and he was obliged to retire for Chapter 17. some time from the house \*. In answer to his ar-1717 to 1719 guments, it was ably observed by Lechmere, that the inquiry was frivolous, the result of party malice, and of the same nature with those which had been instituted against Marlborough, Townshend, and Walpole himself; and he justly observed, that those persons who were now most zealous about the inquiry, had been silent about these pretended frauds while they were in place. But the advocates for the inquiry were so powerful, that it was negatived only by a majority of 10 voices .

But whatever were the motives by which Wal- Influence in pole was guided, he confiderably influenced the parliaments house of commons, during the whole time of his opposition. Three days after his refignation, Stan-Supports the hope having moved for granting the fum of swedish subf. 250,000 to enable the king to concert measures against Sweden; and Pulteney, who had just refigned his place of fecretary at war, having spoke with great vehemence against a German ministry, the motion was in great danger of being loft, till Walpole closed the debate, by observing, "That having already spoken in favour of the supply, he should now vote for it;" and the motion, in confequence of his interference, was carried without a division !. A few words in favour of Mr. Jackson, who had offended the house by declaring that there were amongst them a set of men who made it their

<sup>\*</sup> Chandler.

<sup>+</sup> Historical Register .- Chandler.

<sup>1</sup> Historical Register .- Chandler .- Tindal.

Period II. 1714 to 1720. December 4th 1717.

study and business to embarrass the government, faved him from the Tower. And when Shippen faid, "the fpeech from the throne feemed rather calculated for the meridian of Germany, than of Great Britain," and urged, as the only infelicity of his majesty's reign, that he was unacquainted with our language and constitution; a few palliating expressions from Walpole would have been attended with the same effect, if the inflexible orator had not maintained what he had advanced, and by that obstinacy occasioned his own commitment\*. Even in the article of fupplies, he occasionally prevailed against the ministry. In speaking for the diminution of the army estimates, his proposal, that £.650,000, instead of £.681,618, should be granted for defraying the charges of guards and garrisons + was adopted; and in the same session. when the ministry demanded £. 130,361, for the pay of reduced officers, and the Tories would only

December 9th

grant £.80,000, Walpole proposed a medium of £.99,000; and his motion was carried without a division.

A proposal from the South Sea company, for

South Sea loan applied to the finking fund.

January 12,

A proposal from the South Sea company, for advancing £.700,000, having been accepted by the house, some of the members were for applying it towards the present and growing necessities of the government. But in a grand committee of ways and means, Walpole, in favour of his sinking fund, insisting that the public debts already incurred should be first considered, a resolution was

<sup>\*</sup> Chandler, vol. 6. p. 157.

<sup>+</sup> Chandler, vol. 6. p. 175.

taken, and a bill afterwards brought in, directing Chapter 17. the application of this money, agreeably to his fen-1717 to 1719. timents. "It is indeed plain," adds a virulent pamphleteer, who decried the administration of Sir Robert Walpole, that "in all transactions of money affairs, the house relied more upon his judgment than on that of any other member \*."

Thus it appears that Walpole, even when in opposition, almost managed the house of commons; and being in opposition he could not gain that ascendancy, by the means of corruption and influence, which were afterwards fo repeatedly urged against him, and which the same virulent author calls " fome SECRET MAGIC of which he seemed to have been a perfect master." In fact, the magic which he applied, was derived from profound knowledge of finance, great skill in debate, in which perspicuity and sound sense were eminently conspicuous, unimpeached integrity of character, and the affiftance of party.

Walpole was no less vehement in his opposition Foreign transto those measures of government which related to actions. foreign affairs, and which, at this time, embraced a very large field for approbation or censure. The fatal confequences of the peace of Utrecht, placed England in a very delicate fituation between the opposite pretensions of Spain and Austria. To satisfy both was impracticable; but the alliance with France, concerted by Walpole and Townshend, and the necessity of opposing the unjust schemes and dangerous intrigues of Cardinal Alberoni, com-

<sup>\*</sup> History of the Administration of Sir Robert Walpole, p. 113.

pelled Great Britain to fide with the Emperor. 1714 to 1720. Yet though it was generally known that Spain, in concert with Sweden, meditated a descent on our coasts, to overturn the established government, and fet the Pretender on the throne; though Philip the Fifth grasped at the possession of Gibraltar and Minorca, and the fubversion of the regent's power in France; and the ambition of his confort, Elizabeth Farnese, aimed at the acquisition of the Italian provinces for her fon; though a Spanish fleet had been fent into the Mediterranean, and a Spanish army had over-run the kingdom of Sardinia, and threatened the reduction of Sicily, no attempts feem to have been wanting on the fide of England, to induce the king of Spain, by perfuafions, to adopt pacific measures. Immediate preparations were arranged with the Emperor France, and the United Provinces, and every proper measure was concerted with those powers to prevent hostilities. Cadogan was fent to the Hague. Dubois came to London, and fettled with the miniftry, terms for an accommodation between the Emperor and the king of Spain\*. George the First even proceeded so far as to propose the cession of Gibraltar +, on the confideration of an equivalent, and permitted the regent duke of Orleans to make · the offer to the king of Spain, if he would ratify the terms specified in the treaty, called the quadruple alliance, paffed at London on the 2d of August 1718, between the Emperor, England, and

<sup>\*</sup> Tindal, vol. 19. p. 167.

<sup>+</sup> See Chapter on Gibraltar, in Period IV.

France, and afterwards acceded to by the United Chapter 17. Provinces.

1717 to 1719.

By this alliance, the Emperor renounced all claims to the crown of Spain, consented, that Tufcany, Parma, and Placentia, as male fiefs of the empire, should descend, in default of male heirs, to Don Carlos, eldest son of Elizabeth Farnese, by Philip the Fifth. In return for these concessions. the Emperor was to be gratified with the possession of Sicily, in lieu of which territory, Sardinia was to be allotted to Victor Amadeus. The terms to be imposed on Philip were, the renunciation of all claims to the dominions of the Emperor, in Italy, and the Netherlands. Three months being allowed to Philip for the acceptance of these conditions, Stanhope himself employed this interval in conducting the negotiation in person: he repaired to Paris, and afrer adjusting measures with the regent proceeded to Madrid. In a conference with Alberoni, he represented that a French army was preparing to invade Spain, and that a British squadron, under the command of admiral Byng, was failing for the Mediterranean, with orders to attack and deftroy the Spanish fleet, if Sicily was not evacuated: he even gave a lift of the number and force of the Ships, to convince him of their evident fuperiority \*. These overtures were rejected with haughtiness and even contempt. Stanhope's immediate departure from Spain became the fignal for war; the French troops advanced, admiral Byng attacked, captured and destroyed the greater

<sup>\*</sup> Earl Stanhope's Letter to Secretary Craggs; Hardwicke Papers.

Period II.

part of the Spanish fleet. The king of Spain, disappointed in his hopes of making an impression on England, by the death of Charles the Twelsth, and the defection of the Czar, was compelled to dismiss Alberoni, and to accede to the quadruple alliance.

Opposes the war with Spain.
March 17, 1718.

During the whole progress of these transactions, Walpole strenuously opposed the conduct of government. On the motion, made by Sir William Strickland, for an address of thanks to the king for his unwearied endeavours to promote the welfare of his kingdoms, and to preserve the tranquillity of Europe, and to affure him that the house would make good fuch exceedings of men for the fea fervice, for the year 1718, as his majesty should find necessary \*, Walpole observed, that fuch an address had all the air of a declaration of war against Spain. In the following fessions, when secretary Craggs laid before the house, copies of some of the treaties relating to the quadruple alliance, alluded to in the fpeech from the throne, Walpole no lefs warmly objected to the words in the motion for an address, expressing the entire satisfaction of the house in those measures which the king had already taken; he urged, "That it was against the common rules of prudence, and the methods of proceeding in that house, to approve a thing before they knew what it was; that he was thoroughly convinced of, and as ready as any person in that affembly, to acknowledge his majesty's great care for the general peace of Europe, and the interest of Great Britain;

Nov. 11.

but that to fanction, in the manner proposed, the Chapter 17. late measures, could have no other view than to 1717 to 1719. fcreen ministers, who were conscious of having done fomething amifs, and who having begun a war against Spain, would now make it the parliament's war: and concluded, by expressing an entire diffatisfaction at a conduct contrary to the law of nations, and a breach of folemn treaties \*." When Craggs, in reply, gave an abstract of the articles of the quadruple alliance, Walpole, after reiterating his professions of duty and affection to the king, diftinguished between him and his ministers, and expressed his unwillingness to approve the measures purfued, until the treaties on which those measures were founded had been fully and maturely examined . Craggs having prefented the transla- Nov. 13. tions of the remaining treaties, and the king having Dec. 17. fent a meffage, that he had declared war against Spain, Walpole combated the address, and while his brother Horace made a long speech against the quadruple alliance, and particularly argued that the grant of Sicily to the Emperor in exchange for Sardinia, was a breach of the treaty of Utrecht, he himself exclaimed against the injustice of attacking the Spanish fleet before the declaration of wart. But the answer given to this violent declamation by the ministerial advocates, was not unreasonable. They stated, that the blame could attach only to Spain; the conduct of the king and ministers was

<sup>\*</sup> Chandler.

<sup>+</sup> Chandler.

t Chandler, vol. 6. p. 191.

agreeable to the law of nations, and to the rules of 1714 to 1720. equity. Was it just to attack Sardinia, without any previous declaration of war, and while the Emperor was engaged with the Turks? Was it just to invade Sicily, without the least provocation? And was it not just in the king of England to vindicate the faith of treaties, and to protect the trade of his fubjects, which had been violently oppreffed? But though Walpole might in this, and other instances, appear influenced by the spirit of party, yet the arguments which he and his friends urged against the articles of the quadruple alliance, are proved by experience to have been well founded. For although the accession of Spain seemed to complete the peace of Utrecht, fince the Emperor acknowledged Philip king of Spain, and Philip renounced all claims to the Netherlands, the Milanese, Naples, and Sicily, yet those two princes were too much irritated to enter cordially into this scheme of pacification; both parties had made cessions without relinquishing their respective pretensions, and it will be difficult to decide, whether the Emperor or Philip were most diffatisfied with the quadruple alliance,

Objects to the quadruple alliance.

## CHAPTER THE EIGHTEENTH:

# 1718-1719.

Origin and Progress of the Peerage Bill.—Opposition and Speech of Walpole.—Bill rejected.

In opposition to the peerage bill, Walpole employed all his talents and eloquence, and bore 1718 to 1719. the most conspicuous part in obtaining its defeat.

This bill was projected by Sunderland; his views Motives for were, to restrain the power of the prince of Wales, the introducwhen he came to the throne, whom he had offended peerage bill. beyond all hopes of forgiveness, and to extend and perpetuate his own influence, by the creation of many new peers. The unfortunate mifunderflanding between the king and his fon, which had recently increased to a very alarming degree, favoured the fuccess of his scheme; and the king, from a motive of mean jealoufy, was induced to give up this important and honourable branch of his royal prerogative, and to strip the crown of its brightest jewel. Sunderland had little difficulty in acquiring a large majority in the house of lords, in favour of a measure which so highly increased their power; the whole body of the Scotch peers in the upper house were gained by the promise of an hereditary feat, and many of the lords, who from form opposed the bill, were secretly not averse to its paffing. Being secure of the lords, he relied for fuccess in the house of commons, on the known abhorrence

Period II.

abhorrence of the Whigs, who formed a large ma-1714 to 1720. jority, to the creation of the twelve peers, during the administration of Oxford; he had been witness to their repeated and vehement affeverations, that the crown ought in future to be deprived of a prerogative which by that act had brought dithonour, on Great Britain, and endangered the liberties of Europe. Even the Whigs in opposition he thought could not venture to obstruct a bill of such a nature, without losing the confidence of their party. Under these circumstances, a bill to limit the number of peers was proposed.

The king's mestage. March 2d.

The king fent a message to the house, that, "he had fo much at heart the fettling the peerage of the whole kingdom, on fuch a foundation as might fecure the freedom and constitution of parliament in all future ages, that he was willing his prerogative should not stand in the way of so great and necessary a work \*." In consequence of this meffage, a bill was brought in "to fettle and limit the peerage in fuch a manner, that the number of English peers should not be enlarged beyond fix of the present number, which, upon failure of iffue male, might be fupplied by new creations: that, inflead of the fixteen elective peers from Scotland, twenty-five should be made hereditary on the part of that kingdom; and that this number, upon failure of heirs male, should be supplied from the other members of the Scotch peerage i." After a strenuous opposition from Cowper, and some partial ob-

<sup>\*</sup> Journals of the House of Lords .- Chandler,

<sup>†</sup> Lords' Journals.

jections from Townshend and Nottingham, the Chapter 18. bill was twice read, and the articles agreed to with-1718 to 1719. out division; but on the day appointed for a third reading, Stanhope observed, "That the bill having March 14th. made a great noise, and raised strange apprehensions; drawn. and fince the defign of it had been fo mifreprefented, and fo mitunderstood, that it was like to meet with great opposition in the other house, he thought it advisable to let that matter lie still till a more proper opportunity \*."

The unpopularity of the measure, and the fer-Its unpopument it had excited in the nation, were the motives which induced Sunderland to withdraw the motion at the moment of certain fuccess in the house of lords. In vain the pen of Addison had been employed in defending the bill, in a paper called The Old Whig, against Steele, who attacked it in a pamphlet intitled The Plebeian; and whose arguments had greater weight with the public. Wal-Walpole's pole also published a pamphlet on the same side of pamphlet. the question, "The Thoughts of a Member of the lower House, in relation to a Project for restraining and limiting the Power of the Crown in the future Creation of Peers ... In this publication, he explained the nature of the bill, and exposed the views of those who introduced it, with a perspicuity of argument, and fimplicity of ftyle adapted to all capacities,

The minister however, did not relinquish his Sunderland's darling bill. During the interval between the pro-efforts.

and calculated to make a general impression.

<sup>\*</sup> Lords' Journals.

<sup>†</sup> Royal and Noble Authors, vol. z. p. 140.

rogation and meeting of parliament, he exerted 1714 to 1720. every effort to engage a majority in its favour. Bribes were profusely lavished, promises and threats were alternately employed, in every shape which his fanguine and overbearing temper could suggest, Heraffected to declare, that it was the king's defire, and not the act of the ministry; he did not attempt to conceal that it was levelled against the future government of the prince of Wales, whom he represented as capable of doing mad things \* when he came to the throne. He declared that the necessary consequence of its rejection would be the ruin of the Whigs, and the introduction of the Tories into the confidence and favour of the king; expressed his furprise that any person who styled himself a Whig should oppose it; and exerted himself in the business with so much heat and violence, that in endeavouring to persuade Middleton, lord chancellor of Ireland, who refused to support the measure in the British house of commons, the blood gushed from his nose ...

Meeting of the Whigs at Devonshire house.

These efforts were attended with such success, that at a meeting held by the leaders of the Whigs in opposition, at Devonshire house, Walpole found the whole body lukewarm, irrefolute, or desponding: feveral of the peers fecretly favoured a bill which would increase their importance; others declared, that as Whigs, it would be a manifest inconfiftency to object to a measure tending to pre-

<sup>\*</sup> Lord Middleton's conversation with Lord Sunderland. Correspondence, Period II.

<sup>+</sup> See Lord Middleton's Letters and Minutes. Correspondence, Period II.

vent the repetition of an abuse of prerogative against Chapter 18. which they had repeatedly inveighed; those who 1718 to 1719. were fincerely averse to it, were unwilling to exert themselves in hopeless resistance, and it was the prevailing opinion that the bill should be permitted to pass without opposition. Walpole alone disfented, and reprobated, in the strongest terms, this refolution as daftardly and impolitic. He maintained that it was the only point on which they could harrafs administration with any prospect of fuccess; that he would place it in such a light as to excite indignation in every independent commoner; that he faw a spirit rising against it among the Whigs, and particularly among the country gentlemen, who were otherwise not averse to support government. He faid, that he had overheard a member of the house of commons, a country gentleman, who possessed an estate of not more than £.800 a year, declare to another with great warmth, that although he had no chance of being made a peer himself, yet, he would never consent to the injustice of giving a perpetual exclusion to his family. He was convinced, he added, that the same fentiment would have a strong effect upon the whole body of country gentlemen; and concluded his animated remonstrances, by declaring, that if deferted by his party, he himself would singly stand forth and oppose it. This declaration, urged with uncommon vehemence, occasioned much altercation, and many perfuafions were made to deter him from adopting a measure which appeared chimerical and abfurd; but when they found that he perfifted,

Period II. the whole party gradually came over to his opinion, 1714 to 1720, and agreed that an opposition should be made to it in the house of commons\*.

Bill paffes the lords.

The bill was again introduced to the notice of parliament, at the opening of the fession, by the following artful expressions in the king's speech: " If the necessities of my government have some-" times engaged your duty and affection to intrust " me with powers, of which you have always, with " good reason, been jealous, the whole world must " acknowledge they have been fo used, as to justify "the confidence you have reposed in me. And " as I can truly affirm, that no prince was ever " more zealous to increase his own authority, than " I am to perpetuate the liberty of my people, I " hope you will think of all proper methods to " establish and transmit to your posterity, the free-" dom of our happy conflitution, and particularly " to fecure that part, which is most liable to " abuse. I value myself upon being the first, " who hath given you an opportunity of doing it; " and I must recommend it to you, to compleat " those measures, which remained impersect the " last fession ."

This speech was made the 23d of November; on the 25th, the duke of Buckingham brought the bill into the house, where it was only opposed by Cowper. It was committed on the 26th, ingroffed on the 28th, passed the 30th, and sent down to the

Sent to the commons.

<sup>\*</sup> See speaker Onslow's Remarks on Opposition. Correspondence.

<sup>+</sup> Journals .- Chandler.

house of commons on the 1st of December\*. At Chapter 18. this period the bill had undergone no alteration 1718 to 1719 from that proposed in the last session; but it was understood, that in order to conciliate the commons, the king was willing to give up another branch of his prerogative, that of pardoning in cases of impeachment, and the lords would wave their privilege of scandalum magnatum.

This memorable bill was read a fecond time on the 8th of December; and a motion made for committing it, gave rife to a long and warm debate: it was principally supported by Craggs, secretary of state, Aislabie, chancellor of the exchequer, Lechmere, attorney-general, and Hampden; it was opposed by Sir Richard Steele in a very masterly speech, by Smith, Sir John Packington, Methuen, and Walpole.

On this occasion he forfook his usual mode of Walpole's debating, which was plain, and feldom decorated with metaphorical ornaments, and, with great animation, began his speech by introducing this classical allusion:

" Among the Romans, the temple of fame was placed behind the temple of virtue, to denote that

<sup>\*</sup> Journals.—Chandler.

<sup>†</sup> Words spoken in derogation of a peer, a judge, or other great officer of the realm, are called scandalum magnatum, and, though they be such as would not be actionable in the case of a common person, yet when spoken in disgrace of such high and respectable characters, they amount to an atrocious injury, which is redressed by an action on the case, founded on many ancient statutes; as well on behalf of the crown to insist the punishment of imprisonment on the slanderer, as on behalf of the party to recover damages for the injury sustained.—Blackstone's Commentaries. B. 3. C. 3.

I See Journals .- Chandler, by mistake, says the 7th.

Period II. 1714 to 1720.

there was no coming to the temple of fame, but through that of virtue. But if this bill is passed into a law, one of the most powerful incentives to virtue would be taken away, since there would be no arriving at honour, but through the winding-sheet of an old decrepit lord, or the grave of an extinct noble family: a policy very different from that glorious and enlightened nation, who made it their pride to hold out to the world illustrious examples of merited elevation,

" Patere honoris scirent ut cuncti viam.

"It is very far from my thoughts to depreciate the advantages, or detract from the respect due to illustrious birth; for though the philosopher may say with the poet,

Et genus et proavos, et quæ non facimus ipfi, Vix ea nostra voco;

yet the claim derived from that advantage, though fortuitous, is so generally and so justly conceded, that every endeavour to subvert the principle, would merit contempt and abhorrence. But though illustrious birth forms one undisputed title to pre-eminence, and superior consideration, yet surely it ought not to be the only one. The origin of high titles was derived from the will of the sovereign to reward signal services, or conspicuous merit, by a recompence which, surviving to posterity, should display in all ages the virtues of the receiver, and the gratitude of the donor. Is merit then so rarely discernible, or is gratitude so small a virtue in our days, that the one must be supposed to be its own reward, and the other limited to a barren

display of impotent good-will? Had this bill ori- Chapter 18. ginated with some noble peer of distinguished an- 1718 to 1719. cestry, it would have excited less surprise; a desire to exclude others from a participation of honours. is no novelty in persons of that class: Quod ex aliorum meritis sibi arrogant, id mihi ex meis ascribi nolunt.

" But it is matter of just surprise, that a bill of this nature should either have been projected, or at least promoted by a gentleman \* who was, not long ago, feated amongst us, and who, having got into the house of peers, is now desirous to shut the door after him.

"When great alterations in the constitution are to be made, the experiment should be tried for a short time before the proposed change is finally carried into execution, left it should produce evil instead of good; but in this case, when the bill is once fanctioned by parliament, there can be no future hopes of redrefs, because the upper house will always oppose the repeal of an act, which has fo confiderably increased their power. The great unanimity with which this bill has paffed the lords. ought to inspire some jealousy in the commons: for it must be obvious, that whatever the lords gain, must be acquired at the loss of the commons. and the diminution of the regal prerogative; and that in all disputes between the lords and commons, when the house of lords is immutable, the commons must sooner or later, be obliged to recede.

<sup>\*</sup> Lord Stanhope.

Period II. 1714 to 1720.

"The view of the ministry in framing this bill, is plainly nothing but to fecure their power in the house of lords. The principal argument on which the necessity of it is founded, is drawn from the mischief occasioned by the creation of twelve peers during the reign of queen Anne, for the purpose of carving an infamous peace through the house of lords; that was only a temporary measure, whereas the mischief to be occasioned by this bill, will be perpetual. It creates thirty-one peers by authority of parliament; fo extraordinary a step cannot be supposed to be taken without some finister design in future. The ministry want no additional strength in the house of lords, for conducting the common affairs of government, as is fufficiently proved by the unanimity with which they have carried through this bill. If, therefore, they think it necessary to acquire additional strength, it must be done with views and intentions more extravagant and hostile to the constitution, than any which have yet been attempted. The bill itfelf is of a most insidious and artful nature. The immediate creation of nine Scotch peers, and the refervation of fix English peers for a necessary occasion, is of double use; to be ready for the house of lords if wanted, and to engage three times the number in the house of commons by hopes and promifes.

"To fanction this attempt, the king is induced to affect to wave some part of his prerogative; but this is merely an oftensible renunciation, unfounded in fact, or reason. I am desirous to treat

of all points relating to the private affairs of his Chapter 18. majesty, with the utmost tenderness and caution, 1718 to 1719. but I should wish to ask the house, and I think I can anticipate the answer; Has any such question been upon the tapis, as no man would forgive the authors, that should put them under the necessity of voting against either side \*? Are there any misfortunes, which every honest man secretly laments and bewails, and would think the last of mischiefs, should they ever become the subject of public and parliamentary conversations? Cannot numbers that hear me testify, from the folicitations and whispers they have met with, that there are men ready and determined to attempt these things if they had a prospect of success? If they have thought, but I hope they are mistaken in their opinion of this house, that the chief obstacle would arise in the house of lords, where they have always been tender upon personal points, especially to any of their own body, does not this project enable them to carry any question through the house of lords? Must not the twenty-five Scots peers accept upon any terms, or be for ever excluded? Or will not twenty-five be found in all Scotland that will? How great will the temptation be likewife to fix English, to fill the present vacancies? And shall we then, with our eyes open, take this ftep, which I cannot but look upon as the beginning of woe and confusion; and shall we, under these apprehensions, break through the Union, and

<sup>\*</sup> He here probably alluded to the mifunderstanding between the king and prince of Wales.

Period II. 1714 to 1720.

that up the door of honour? It certainly will have that effect; nay, the very argument advanced in its support, that it will add weight to the commons, by keeping the rich men there, admits that it will be an exclusion.

"But we are told, that his majesty has voluntarily consented to this limitation of his prerogative. It may be true; but may not the king have been deceived? Which if it is ever to be supposed, must be admitted in this case. It is incontrovertible, that kings have been over-ruled by the importunity of their ministers to remove, or to take into administration, persons who are disagreeable to them. The character of the king surnishes us also a strong proof that he has been deceived; for although it is a fact, that in Hanover, where he possesses absolute power, he never tyrannised over his subjects, or despotically exercised his authority, yet, can one instance be produced when he ever gave up a prerogative?

"If the constitution is to be amended in the house of lords, the greatest abuses ought to be first corrected. But what is the abuse, against which this bill so vehemently inveighs, and which it is intended to correct? The abuse of the prerogative in creating an occasional number of peers, is a prejudice only to the lords, it can rarely be a prejudice to the commons, but must generally be exercised in their favour; and should it be argued, that in case of a difference between the two houses, the king may exercise that branch of his prerogative, with a view to force the commons to recede,

we may reply, that upon a difference with the Chapter 18. commons, the king possesses his negative, and the 1718 to 1719 exercise of that negative would be less culpable than making peers to screen himself.

"But the strongest argument against the bill is, that it will not only be a discouragement to virtue and merit, but would endanger our excellent constitution; for as there is a due balance between the three branches of the legislature, it will destroy that balance, and consequently subvert the whole constitution, by causing one of the three powers, which are now dependent on each other, to preponderate in the scale. The crown is dependent upon the commons by the power of granting money; the commons are dependent on the crown by the power of dissolution: The lords will now be made independent of both.

"The fixteen elective Scotch peers, already admit themselves to be a dead court weight, yet the same fixteen are now to be made hereditary, and nine added to their number. These twenty-five, under the influence of corrupt ministers, may find their account in betraying their trust; the majority of the lords may also find their account in supporting such ministers; but the commons, and the commons only, must suffer for all, and be deprived of every advantage. If the proposed measure destroys two negatives in the crown, it gives a negative to these twenty-five united, and confers a power, superior to that of the king himself, on the head of a clan, who will have the power of recommending many. The Scotch commoners

Period II.

can have no other view in supporting this measure, 1714 to 1720, but the expected aggrandizement of their own chiefs. It will diffolve the allegiance of the Scotch peers who are not amongst the twenty-five, and who can never hope for the benefit of an election to be peers of parliament, and almost enact obedience from the fovereign to the betrayers of the conflitution.

> "The present view of the bill is dangerous; the view to posterity, personal and unpardonable; it will make the lords mafters of the king, according to their own confession, when they admit, that a change of administration renders a new creation of peers necessary; for by precluding the king from making peers in future, it at the same time precludes him from changing the prefent administration, who will naturally fill the vacancies with their own creatures; and the new peers will adhere to the first minister, with the same zeal and unanimity as those created by Oxford adhered to him.

> " If when the parliament was made feptennial, the power of diffolving it before the end of feven years had been wrested from the crown, would not fuch an alteration have added immense authority to the commons? and yet, the prerogative of the crown in diffolving parliaments, may be, and has been oftener abused, than the power of creating peers.

> " But it may be observed, that the king, for his own fake, will rarely make a great number of peers, for they, being usually created by the in-

fluence

fluence of the first minister, soon become, upon a Chapter 18. change of administration, a weight against the 1718 to 1719. crown; and had queen Anne lived, the truth of this observation would have been verified in the case of most of the twelve peers made by Oxford. Let me ask, however, is the abuse of any prerogative a fufficient reason for totally annihilating that prerogative? Under that confideration, the power of dissolving parliaments ought to be taken away, because that power has been more exercifed, and more abused than any of the other prerogatives; yet in 1641, when the king had affented to a law that disabled him from proroguing or diffolving parliament, without the confent of both houses, he was from that time under subjection to the parliament, and from thence followed all the subsequent mischiefs, and his own destruction. It may also be asked, Whether the prerogative of making peace and war has never been abused? I might here call to your recollection the peace of Utrecht, and the prefent war with Spain. Yet who will prefume to advise that the power of making war and peace, should be taken from the crown?

" How can the lords expect the commons to give their concurrence to a bill by which they and their posterity are to be for ever excluded from the peerage? How would they themselves receive a bill which should prevent a baron from being made a viscount, a viscount an earl, an earl a marquis, and a marquis a duke? Would they confent to limit the number of any rank of peerage? CerPeriod II. 1714 to 1720. tainly none; unless, perhaps, the dukes. If the pretence for this measure is, that it will tend to secure the freedom of parliament, I say that there are many other steps more important and less equivocal, such as the discontinuance of bribes and pensions,

" That this bill will fecure the liberty of parliament, I totally deny; it will fecure a great preponderance to the peers; it will form them into a compact impenetrable phalanx, by giving them the power to exclude, in all cases of extinction. and creation, all fuch persons from their body, who may be obnoxious to them. In the inflances we have feen of their judgment in some late cases, fufficient marks of partiality may be found to put us on our guard against committing to them the power they would derive from this bill, of judging the right of latent or dormant titles, when their verdict would be of fuch immense importance. If gentlemen will not be convinced by argument, at least, let them not shut their ears to the dreadful example of former times; let them recollect that the overweening disposition of the great barons, to aggrandize their own dignity, occasioned them to exclude the leffer barons, and to that circumstance may be fairly attributed the fanguinary wars which fo long defolated the country \*."

<sup>\*</sup> The substance of this speech is collected from memorandums in Sir Robert Walpole's own hand-writing, among lord Orford's papers.—See also, Onslow on Opposition, Correspondence, Period II.—Historical Register, 1719.—Chandler.

The effect of this speech on the house, exceed- Chapter 18. ed the most sanguine expectation; it fixed those 1718 to 1719, who had before been wavering and irresolute, Bill rejected. brought over many who had been tempted by the speciousness of the measure to savour its introduction, and procured its rejection by a triumphant majority of 269 against 177.

### PERIOD THE THIRD:

From the South Sea Act, to the Death of GEORGE the First:

1720-1727.

#### CHAPTER THE NINETEENTH:

## 1720.

Origin and Progress of the South Sea Company.—Their Project for liquidating the National Debt.—Espoused by the Ministry.—Opposed by Walpole.—Accepted by Parliament.—Walpole reconciles the King and the Prince of Wales.—Forms a Coalition with Sunderland.—Townshend appointed President of the Council.—Walpole Paymaster of the Forces.—Retires into the Country.

Origin of the South Sea Company.

THE commencement of this period forms a memorable æra in the political life of Sir Robert Walpole, and holds him forth as the reftorer of the national credit, which the fatal effects of the South Sea scheme had brought to the brink of destruction.

The South Sea Company owed its origin to a chimerical project, formed by Harley in 1711, for the purpose of restoring public credit, which had been greatly affected by the dismission of the Whig ministry, and of establishing a fund for the discharge of the navy and army debentures, and the other parts of the floating debt, which amounted

1720

to f. 9,471,325; and was afterwards increased to Chapter 19. f. 10,000,000. With a view to fettle a fund for paying the interest of 6 per cent. on these arrears. which amounted to the annual fum of f. 568,279, all the duties upon wines, vinegar, tobacco, India goods, wrought filks, whale fins, and a few other duties, were rendered permanent. In order to allure the creditors with the hopes of advantages from a new commerce, the monopoly of a trade to the South Sea, or coast of Spanish America, was granted to a company composed of the proprietors of this funded debt, which being incorporated by act of parliament, took the appellation of the South Sea Company \*. The great advantages to be derived from this commerce, had been exaggerated from the time of our first voyages to Spanish America, in the reign of Elizabeth, and still farther increased by the reports of the buccaneers. The confiderable riches which France had brought from America, fince the establishment of Philip the Fifth on the throne of Spain, had contributed to raise the sanguine expectations of the British merchants; a rumour, industriously circulated, that four ports on the coasts of Peru and Chili, were to be ceded by Spain, inflamed the general ardour; the prospect of exchanging gold, filver, and rich drugs for the manufactures of England, were plaufible allurements for an enterprifing and commercial nation; and the mines of Potofi and Mexico, were to diffuse their inex-

<sup>\*</sup> James Postlethwayt's Historical State of the South Sea Company. Anderson on Commerce, vol. 3. p. 43. Tindal, vol. 17. p. 361.

Period III. haustible stores through the medium of the new 1720 to 1727 company.

Progress and fuspension of their trade.

The famous act of parliament, which incorporated the fubscribers of the debts, under the name of the governor and company of merchants of Great Britain trading to the South Seas and other parts of America, was called the earl of Oxford's mafter piece, and confidered by his panegyrifts as the fure means of bringing an inexhaustible mine of riches into England. But in fact this scheme was fettled on a false foundation; for by the peace of Utrecht, Spain and the Indies being confirmed to Philip the Fifth, that monarch was too jealous to admit the English to a free trade in the South Sea, and instead of the advantageous commerce which Oxford had held forth, the company obtained only the \* affiento contract, or the privilege of fupplying the Spanish colonies of America with negroes for 30 years, with the permission of sending to Spanish America an annual ship, limited both as to tonnage and value of cargo, of the profits of which the king of Spain referved one fourth, and five per cent. on the other fourths. This disappointment was attempted to be counteracted by the declaration made by Oxford, that Spain had permitted two ships, in addition to the annual ship, to carry merchandize, during the first year to the northern coasts of Spanish America, and a pompous nomination of the feveral ports where the company had leave to trade, and fettle factories. But the grand benefits of this com-

1713.

<sup>.</sup> Affiento is a Spanish word, fignifying a firm or contract.

<sup>†</sup> Anderson, vol. 3. page 55.

merce were never realised. The first voyage of the Chapter 19. annual ship was not made till 1717, and in the following year, the trade was suppressed by the rupture with Spain. Their effects, factories, and fervants were feized and detained, notwithstanding the agreement in the affiento, which allowed, in case of a rupture, eighteen months for the removal of their effects.

1720.

Such was the state of the South Sea Company, Plan of liquiwhen the ministry, instead of attempting to lessen dating the nathe national incumbrances, by the only just and fuccessful means, a clear and inviolable finking fund, adopted the visionary schemes of projectors. and gave to the Company the power of fascinating the minds of the public, and spreading an infatuation fimilar to that which had recently involved France in a national bankruptcy. The grand point which government had in view, was the reduction of the irredeemable annuities, created in the reigns of William and Anne, for a period of 89, 96, and 99 years, amounting nearly to £.800,000 per annum, as no effectual measures could be adopted to lessen the public debts, whilst these annuities remained irredeemable.

In order to effect this liquidation, the minister Proposal laid accepted propofals from the South Sea Company, ment. for reducing the debts to a redeemable state: as the object of the ministers, who had previously and fecretly arranged the scheme with the directors, was to furprise the house of commons into the meafure of granting this extensive privilege to the South Sea Company, and of preventing competition,

Feb. 22d.

Period III. tion, they entertained the most fanguine hopes of 1720 to 1727. fuccess, from the specious advantages which they held forth to the public as the necessary consequences. They accordingly laid the business before a committee of the house of commons\*. Aislabie having opened the proposal of the South Sea Company, and declared, that, if it was accepted, the national debt could be liquidated in twenty-fix years, was followed by fecretary Craggs, who after congratulating the chancellor of the exchequer, on the clear and intelligible manner in which he had explained the business, and the nation on the prospect of discharging the debt sooner than was generally expected, concluded by observing, that no other regular motion could be made, than that the chairman should report progress, and desire leave to sit again, as he took it for granted, that every gentleman was ready and willing to receive the propofal according to the scheme which had been so well explained. On fitting down a profound filence enfued, and continued for almost a quarter of an hour, until the fecretary again rose, and made the motion in form. Thomas Broderick +, member for Stockbridge, then rose, and after observing, that until the national debt was discharged, we could not properly (peaking, call ourselves a nation, and that therefore every proposal, tending to that great end, ought to be received and confidered; he added, that the first gentleman who spoke, appeared to recommend this scheme exclusively, and the fecretary had agreed with him; but it was to

Objected to.

Tournals.

<sup>+</sup> Brother of lo. d Middleton, lord chancellor of Ireland.

be hoped, that with a view of obtaining the best Chapter 10. bargain for the nation, every other company, or any fociety of men, might be also at full liberty to deliver in their proposals. This observation disconcerted and confounded the ministers. They felt themselves embarrassed, and being unable to give any reasonable arguments in favour of such a conduct, they had recourse to violent affertions and personal reflections. Aislabie, in particular, having used some unguarded expressions, "that things of this nature must be carried on with spirit," was interrupted by Sir Joseph Jekyl, who observed, with much warmth, "It is this spirit which has undone the nation; our bufiness is to consider thoroughly. deliberate calmly, and judge of the whole upon reason, not with the spirit alluded to." Aislabie, in attempting to explain, betrayed fo much embarrassiment, that he excited the laughter of the house. Walpole then rose, and put a momentary Walpole faftop to these indecorous altercations. He ap-vours an open plauded the defign, agreed in general to the propriety of the scheme, but declared that some parts required amendment, and a few others were unreasonable, concluding strongly in favour of receiving all propofals, which feemed to be almost the general opinion. Lechmere replied, but instead of confining himself to the subject in debate, he poured forth invectives against the scheme which had been proposed by Walpole, for the payment of the national debt, and gave the preference to that before the house. Walpole, irritated by this virulent attack, rose again, and with no less asperity, but with

1720.

Period III. 1730 to 1727.

with more calmness and skill, retorted on Lechmere: he proved, from papers \* which he held in his hand, that the member who fpoke last had unfairly represented facts, exposed his deceitful mode of reasoning, entered minutely into the scheme, and laid open its fallacy in many material points. Lechmere, still farther provoked, again attempted to reply, but met with repeated interruptions. In vain the chairman called to order, and exclaimed, "Hear your member!" The whole house repeatedly cried out, "We have heard him long enough!" The chairman guitted the chair, and the speaker having refumed it, the house unanimously agreed to receive all proposals, and to resolve itself into a committee the following Wednesday, to consider farther of the subject .

Proposal of the bank.

In consequence of these resolutions, the bank of England laid a proposition before the commons, offering still more advantageous terms, and as it was supposed that considerable benefits would ac-

\* Among the Orford Papers, are several notes and memorandums in Sir Robert Walpole's hand writing, which contain comparative accounts of the two proposals, and give the preference to that of the bank. These are probably some of the papers from which he made his statements to the house, but as they were written merely for his own private use, and consist principally of figures, with few specific references, little use could be made of them. The magnitude of the South Sea project, will appear from one of these notes.

South Sea, present capital - 11,746,844 8 10

Purchase of the redeemable debts - 15,924,218 12 10

Irredeemables - 15,057,493 13 8

And including the original capital, the } 6.42,728,556 15 44

<sup>†</sup> No account of this extraordinary debate is to be found in any publication:—The substance is taken from a letter of Thomas Broderick to lord chancellor Middleton, January 24th. See Correspondence, Period III.

crue to those whose scheme was accepted, a strong Chapter 10. competition prevailed between the bank and South Sea company, who endeavoured to outbid each other. The South Sea company had offered f. 3,500,000; but the bank, having bid f. 5,500,000, the company were fo irritated, that at a general court, the directors were instructed to obtain the preference. cost what it would \*, and they succeeded, by the offer of paying the enormous fum of f. 7,567,500, Feb, 1ft. as a gratuity to the public. This propofal being laid before the house of commons, was warmly opposed by Walpole, who spoke in favour of the bank, In vain he displayed the fallacy of the South Sea Walpole scheme, and the great difference between that and the South Sea the bank, by shewing, that the company was not scheme. limited in the price they were to put on the flock made over to them; whereas the bank offered a specific sum of f. 1,700 stock, for every hundred pounds in the long annuities, and the same proportion for the short annuities. In vain he urged, that it countenanced the pernicious practice of stock jobbing, by diverting the genius of the nation from trade and industry; that it held out a dangerous lure for decoying the unwary to their ruin by a false prospect of gain, and to part with the gradual profits of their labour, for imaginary wealth. In vain he infifted, that if the propofal of the South Sea company should be accepted, the rife of their flock ought to be limited. In vain he dwelt on the miseries and confusion which then

\* True state of the South Sea Scheme.

prévailed

prevailed in France, from the adoption of fimilar 1) 20 to 1727 measures. In vain he argued, that as the whole fuccefs of the scheme must chiefly depend on the rife of the stock, the great principle of the project was an evil of the first magnitude; it was to raise artificially the value of the stock, by exciting and keeping up a general infatuation, and by promifing dividends out of funds which would not be adequate to the purpose. In vain he predicted, that if the establishment succeeded, the directors would become masters of the government, form an abso-Inte aristocracy in the kingdom, and controul the resolutions of the legislature; or if it did not fucceed, the failure would cause a general discontent. He closed his speech by observing, that fuch would be the delufive confequences, that the public would conceive it a dream\*. His arguments and his eloquence were of no avail. He was compared by his friends to Cassandra, predicting evils which would only be believed when the event proved their reality, and only deprecated when they were felt; and he whose speeches, in matters of finance, occupied the house with more than usual attention, was now scarcely heard. The preference was given to the South Sea, and the bill was afterwards carried by a majority of more than 3 to 1 . Thus paffed this fatal act, compared by earl Cowper to the Trojan horse, which was ushered in and received with great pomp and acclamations of joy,

April 2.

<sup>\*</sup> Political State of Europe, vol. 20. Anderson.—Memorandums and Letters in the Walpole and Orford Papers.

<sup>+</sup> Journals .- Political State, vol. 19. p. 430.

but was contrived for treachery and destruction. Chapter 10. Walpole not only spoke with energy against the project, but gave to the public a pamphlet on the fubject, called, " The South Sea Scheme confidered \* "

At this period, Sunderland was involved in great Townshend difficulties; he had promised the Hanoverians to and Walpole Sunderprocure a repeal of the reftraining clause in the act land. of fettlement, but the fuccess which marked the efforts of his adversaries, proved the impracticability of fuch an attempt. The impatience of the foreign favourites to obtain the full possession of the expected honours and emoluments, rendered them diffatisfied with the minister, who while he profeffed an inclination, avowed his want of power to gratify them. Thus exposed to the hostile attacks of one party, and ill supported by the other, he found himself under the necessity of gaining friends to strengthen his administration. The opposition which Walpole had given to the measures of government, and his great influence in the house of commons, where he was feebly refifted by Craggs, Aislabie and Lechmere, pointed him out as the most desirable co-adjutor in the present state of circumstances; overtures were made to him and Townshend, and a partial coalition took place.

<sup>\*</sup> Royal and Noble Authors-Article, Earl of Orford. History of the South Sea Company .- Anderson, vol. 3 .- Steuart's Political Œconomy, vol. 2. p. 387.—Sir Robert Walpole's Pamphlet, called South Sea Scheme confidered.—Sir John Blunt's Pamphlet; The true State of the South Sea Scheme, -Political State of Great Britain, vol. 19, 20, 21,-Tindal, vol. 19.

Period III. 1720 to 1727. Walpole paymafter of the forces.

Reconciles the king and prince.

On the 6th of May, Walpole seconded a motion. made by Pelham, for an address of thanks to the king; on the 4th of June he was appointed paymafter general of the forces, and on the 11th, Townshend was nominated president of the council. Previously, however, to this arrangement, Walpole had, in conjunction with the duke of Devonshire, been the principal means of effecting a reconciliation between the king and the prince of Wales, whose misunderstanding had arisen to so alarming a height, as to threaten a diffurbance of the public tranquillity. The causes of this misunderstanding have been already related, and it was still farther increased and brought into notice, by an incident which happened at the christening of one of the young princes. The king was to stand godfather, and the prince had defigned his uncle, the duke of York, for the other; but, when the ceremony was performed, the duke of Newcastle, lord chamberlain of the household, stood godfather, by the king's command, not as proxy for the duke of York, but in his own name. This circumstance irritated the prince, who, at the conclusion of the ceremony, violently reproached the duke, almost in the king's presence, for having solicited the honour in his despite. The king, incensed at this indiscreet want of respect, signified his displeasure, by commanding him to remain in his apartment, under arrest, and soon afterwards ordered him to quit the palace. Notice was also formally given, that no persons who paid their respects to the prince and princess of Wales, would be received at court, and

they were deprived of their usual guard, and of all Chapter 19. other marks of distinction \*.

1720.

The refentment of the king was also carried to fuch an extremity, that with a view to embarrass his fon, he formed a resolution of obtaining an act of parliament for compelling him to refign, on his accession to the throne, his German dominions. With this view, the opinion of the lord chancellor Parker, afterwards earl of Macclesfield, was demanded, and a conference held to confider of the legality and expediency of the scheme. The anfwer given by the chancellor, fully put a stop to the measure, as inexpedient and impracticable, and liable to be followed by very dangerous confequences +.

The honour of effecting the reconciliation in the royal family was principally due to Walpole. In a conference which he held with Sunderland, to arrange the plan of a joint administration, the minister, who was averse to the union of the two courts, endeavoured to detach him from the prince, and offered him any conditions for himself and friends, provided he would confent that the prince should remain in disgrace t. But Walpole rejected these overtures, and insisted on the reconciliation, as an indispensable preliminary, before he would listen to any terms of coalition. Having extorted this concession, he, with the affistance of the duke

<sup>\*</sup> Tindal, vol. 19. p. 169.

<sup>†</sup> The original draught of this curious conference, in the hand writing of the lord chancellor, is in the possession of Thomas Astle,

I Etough .- Communicated by Sir Robert Walpole,

Period III.

of Devonshire\*, disposed the prince of Wales to 1720 to 1727. write a submissive letter, in which permission was requested to wait upon the king. He was accordingly admitted to a private conference, and on his return from the palace to Leicester house, where he had taken up his residence, was attended by a party of guards, and from that time the father and fon appeared to be reconciled.

Retires to Houghton. 1720. July 28.

Although Walpole accepted the place of paymaster of the forces, yet he did not cordially coalesce with the administration; and on the prorogation of parliament, he took no active share in the government. He passed the remaining part of the fummer at Houghton, and was called to take a leading part, when the voice of the king, of the parliament, and of the nation unanimously fingled him out as the person best qualified to heal the wounds, which the frenzy and frauds of the South Sea company had inflicted on the public credit.

<sup>\*</sup> Tindal, vol. 19. p. 344. Grove's Lives of the Dukes of Devonhire, vol. 2. p. 90.

#### CHAPTER THE TWENTIETH:

# 1720-1721.

Departure of the King for Hanower.—Rife and Fall of the South Sea Stock.—National Infatuation and Despair.—Walpole's Endeavours to restore the Credit of the Company.—The King returns from Hanower.—Alarming State of Affairs.—Embarrassment of the Ministry.—Despondency of the King.—Walpole's Plan for the Restoration of Public Credit.—Discussed.

Soon after the appointment of Townshend and June 14. Walpole, the king departed for Hanover; hav-The king goes to Hanoving previously named a council of regency, com-ver. posed of several high officers of state, contrary to the general expectation, which in consequence of the supposed union between the king and prince of Wales, looked to him as regent in the absence of his father.

At this crisis the general frenzy in favour of the south Sea South Sea speculation had risen to an enormous infatuation. height. The compensation to the South Sea company, for the immediate payment of the £. 7,567,500, seemingly for no value received, was to be drawn from the profits of their scheme. These profits were to arise from, 1. The exclusive advantages of the trade, which although precarious, and depending on a peace with Spain, were stated at no less than £.200,000 a year. 2. The allowance for the charge of management, which was to be proportioned to the augmentation of their stock. 3. The difference of receiving 5 per cent. for the money expended in purchasing the public debts, when the

usual interest was only 4 per cent. 4. The great 1720 to 1727 addition to their wealth, from the constant rise in the price of the stock, in consequence of the artifices used to enhance its value; on which the whole fuccess of the scheme depended\*.

company.

Artifices of the The company could not fulfil its engagements with government, and pay fo large a fum as between seven and eight millions, without taking advantage of the general infatuation, and availing themselves of that spirit of pecuniary enterprise, which had feized the public mind. Imaginary advantages were accordingly held forth; groundless and mysterious + reports were circulated concerning valuable acquisitions in the South Sea, and hidden treasures; dividends of ten, thirty, and even fifty per cent, were voted, which the directors knew could never be paid, and for which there was no foundation.

Exaggerated advantages.

The promoters of the scheme highly exaggerated the profits; rumours were at the same time spread, that the company, by monopolizing the fund of the whole national debt, would reduce government to the necessity of applying to them for loans,

What need have we of Indian wealth; Or commerce with our neighbours? Our conftitution is in health. And riches crown our labours. Our South Sea ships have golden shrouds, They bring us wealth 'tis granted; But lodge their treasure in the clouds, To hide it till it's wanted.

Political State, vol. 20. p. 178.

<sup>\*</sup> Steuarts Political Œconomy, vol. 2. p. 386, 387. Anderson's History of Commerce, vol. 3. p. 96.

<sup>+</sup> To these mysterious hints and fancied treasures, a ballad on the South Sea alluded:

which would be advanced on their own terms; and Chapter 20. it was even infinuated, that the proprietors would 1720 to 1721. obtain, by the weight of their wealth, a majority in the house of commons, and make and depose minifters. The public being intoxicated with these ideas, the stock, which at the close of the books at Christmas, 1719, was only at 126, rose, at the opening of the first subscription, on the 14th of April, to above f. 300, the market-price being on that day 325: in other words, the creditors of the nation made over a debt of 100 for 33 in South Sea stock. As the frenzy spread, and the defire of Rise and fall of making rapid fortunes became contagious, the stock the stocks. fuccessively rose to above 1,000 per cent. at which price the books were opened for the fourth subfcription the 24th of August; and this subscription, though the market-price of the established stock was below 800, was fold the same day for a premium of 30 and 40 per cent.

The fanguine cupidity, which marked this fpe-Other projects culation, was not confined to the South Sea or bubbles. fcheme: the whole nation became stock-jobbers and projectors: every day produced new propofals \*. fome of apparent importance and utility,

<sup>\*</sup> The reader will find near two hundred of these bubbles enumerated in Anderson's History of Commerce, vol. 3. p. 103. Amongst the most absurd may be mentioned, projects, For transmuting quick-filver into a malleable and fine metal.—For importing a number of large jack-asses from Spain, in order to propagate a large breed of mules;—and for trading in human hair. But the most impudent and barefaced delusion, was that of a man who advertised, that upon payment of two guineas, the subscribers should be institled to a hundred pound share, in a project which should be disclosed in a month; the extreme folly of the public was such, that he received a thousand of these subscriptions in one day, and then went off.

Period III. others fo abfurd and futile, that their fuccess was 1720 to 1727 matter of furprife, and almost exceeds credibility. So prevalent was this rage, amongst persons even of the highest rank, that the prince of Wales was induced to become governor of the copper company. In vain Walpole and Compton endeavoured to diffuade him from this act of degradation, by representing, that he subjected himself to a profecution, that he would be reviled in parliament, and that the prince of Wales's bubble would be hawked about in Change alley. Their remonstrances had no effect, the prince became governor, but afterwards, on receiving notice that a profecution would be commenced against the company, withdrew his name, with a gain of £.40,000 \*.

> These delusive projects received their first check from the power to which they owed their birth: The directors of the South Sea company, jealous of their fuccess, and desirous to monopolize all the money of the speculators, obtained writs of fcire facias against the conductors of bubbles, and thus put an end to them. But in opening the eyes of the deluded multitude, they removed the main prop of their own tottering edifice. Suspicion once excited was not to be suppressed, and the public, no longer amused by pompous declarations, and promifes of dividends, which they were convinced could never be realized, declined all farther purchases of stock, which fell in less than three weeks to 400, and those who had

<sup>\*</sup> Secretary Craggs to Earl Stanhope, July 12th. Correspondences Period III.

bought at large premiums were involved in dif- Chapter 20. tress and ruin. Amongst the numbers who suf-1720 to 1721. fered by these speculations, were not only persons of the first rank, but merchants and traders of every class, and bankers, who having advanced the monies committed to them, on the subscription receipts, by their temporary stoppages augmented the general calamity.

When the public diftress was arrived to a most Walpole's enalarming height, and despair pervaded all ranks of trieve the credit people, to Walpole every eye was directed, as the of the comonly person capable of affording affistance, under the pressure of immediate necessity. When the aid of the bank became necessary to preserve the South Sea company from ruin, he was called from the country, and importuned to use his interest with the governors, to perfuade them to accept a propofal made by the South Sea company, to circulate a number of their bonds. At this awful moment the clamour of diffress was irrefisfible. and the bank, after great reluctance, arising from a natural dread of being involved in the fame ruin which threatened the company, was at length induced to listened to the proposals. Walpole was present at several conferences between the committees of the two companies, and drew up, in the first conference, a minute, well known afterwards by the name of the bank contract, specifying the agreement of the bank, to circulate three millions of South Sea bonds for one year, on certain conditions, which were fettled at a subsequent meeting.

meeting. The report of his \* interference, and 1720 to 1727. the intended aid to be given by the bank, occafioned a temporary rife in the South Sea stock, but the public was in fuch a state of terror and agitation, and so desperate was the situation of the South Sea company, that any community of interests between the two companies, was considered as fatal to both. In consequence of this notion, fuch a demand was made on the bank, that the governors refused to abide by the terms of their agreement; alledging, that it was deficient in legal validity +.

king.

Arrival of the The critical state of the nation having rendered the immediate presence of the king necessary, he hastily quitted his German dominions, and landed at Margate, on the 9th of November. But his presence had not the desired effect. South Sea stock, which at the king's arrival was at 210, fell in a few days to 135 t. The public now looked with anxious expectation for the affembling of parliament, which was to meet on the 25th of November; yet fuch were the difficulties under which the ministry laboured, to form a proper fcheme for remedying the national diffress, which daily increased, that it was farther prorogued to the 8th of December.

National despondency.

Nor is it a matter of wonder that the ministry were alarmed, and uncertain what measures to

<sup>\*</sup> Political State.

<sup>†</sup> True State of the South Sea Scheme .- Some Considerations concerning the Public Funds, p. 88, 91 .- Tindal,

I Political State. Tindal.

pursue. England had never experienced so total Chapter 20. a destruction of credit, never was any country in 1720 to 1721. fo violent a paroxysm of despondency and terror. The South Sea company was confidered as the fole cause of all the national misfortunes, the directors were indifcriminately loaded with execrations, and devoted by the public voice to condign punishment. Those who had promoted the scheme were involved in the same general detestation. The king, in addition to the odium of being a foreigner, and governed by foreign counfels, and of increasing his own dominions in Germany, at the expence of England, was now reviled for having favoured the South Sea act. Well-founded fufpicions were entertained, that his German minifters and mistresses had received enormous largesses in stock to recommend and promote the project. Most of the principal ministers of the English: cabinet, Townshend excepted, were accused of being implicated in the fame scandalous traffic, either by themselves or their relations, and had totally forfeited the public opinion.

Idle reports were circulated, and believed, that Popular cla-Sunderland \* was endeavouring to prevail on the mours. king to marry the duchess of Kendal, with a view to diminish the influence of the prince of Wales; and that he was following the example of his father with James the Second, in driving his master to such acts of unpopularity, as might cause a deposition, and establish a republic on the ruins of

<sup>\*</sup> Letters from Count Bernsdorf, and other Hanoverian ministers, among the Townshend Papers.

the throne. A general outcry prevailed, that the 1720 to 1727. king and ministers had leagued with the South Sea company to dupe the nation, and that the remedy for these enormous evils, would be more dangerous than the disorder itself.

> The public discontents were increased to so great a height, that some of his Hanoverian counsellors fuggested the rashest measures \*. They advised the king to affect a refignation of the crown to the prince of Wales, and infinuated, that William, his great predeceffor, had furmounted the factions of the time by threatening to retire, and leave the country to its fate. As a last and desperate effort, he was recommended to apply to the army, to found the officers, many of whom it was faid, had declared, that rather than submit to the establishment of a commonwealth, or a popish competitor, they would affift to render the crown absolute. Others were alarmed, and dreaded a mifunderstanding between the king and the parliament; deprecated any attempt to apply to the army, opposed the refignation of the crown, by infinuating, that it was not the first time, that a king of England had ruined himself by retiring, with the hope of quelling the fury of the populace; advised rather, that fecret applications should be made to the Emperor and the other allies, for troops, if necesfary, to defend his person against any rebellious attempts.

<sup>\*</sup> Letters from Count Bernsdorf, and other Hamoverian ministers among the Townshend Papers.

In this alarming crifis, the king was penfive and Chapter 20. desponding, uncertain how to act, and by whom to 1720 to 1721. be directed.

Fortunately, in this moment of suspense and spondent. agitation, the public voice called forth Walpole, Walpole, as the only man calculated to fave the nation from impending destruction. In conjunction with Townshend, he stood at the head of a large party, highly respected for their tried integrity; among whom the names of Cavendish and Russel weremost conspicuous, who had uniformly acted with him; while the dukes of Newcastle, Bolton, Grafton, and many other Whigs, who had united with Sunderland, were now ready to join his standard. He was attached to government by the office of paymaster of the forces; but as he had scarcely taken any part in public transactions, he did not Thare with administration the general odium. He had acquired great popularity by his uniform opposition to the South Sea act, and by having predicted the evils which were now most severely felt.

Walpole now poffeffed the power, had he poffeffed the inclination, to ruin the South Sea company, the directors of which had treated him with many marks of contempt and obloquy, and to wreak his vengeance upon its principal contriver, Sunderland, who by his cabals in 1716, had driven him and Townshend from the helm of government \*. He was not ignorant that the Hanove-

<sup>\*</sup> Letter from Wm. Pulteney. Correspondence, Period III.

Period III. rian junto were diffatisfied with Sunderland. The promifes which he had made of obtaining the repeal of the incapacitating clause, were not fulfilled, and when he was reproached for the breach of his word, he had excused himself by alledging, that Walpole, on whom he had relied for carrying the measure through the house of commons, was no longer in administration. Walpole, therefore, was fecure of their co-operation, if he had deigned to make overtures to them. He also well knew. that Sunderland had principally promoted the South Sea act, for the purpose of securing, by largesses of stock, a majority in both houses of parliament. He was aware that the minister never cordially coalesced with him and Townshend, and that as foon as he had ftrengthened his party by their means, he would obtain their dismission.

The affairs of the South Sea company were in fo desperate a situation, the popular outcry against the directors fo violent, and the general diffress fo urgent, that he did not want excuses for justifying a refufal to undertake this arduous bufiness.

But Walpole was not of a vindictive temper; he cheerfully facrificed his own refentment, and though fully fatisfied of Sunderland's infidious and overbearing character, came forward to affift in relieving his country from the general calamity. He was fully aware of the numerous embarrassments which opposed his fuccess. To him was enjoined the difficult task of preserving the honour of the king, which feemed contaminated by the notorious

avarice and venality of his German followers; of Chapter 20. counteracting the unpopularity of the minister, 1720 to 1721. by whose authority and influence the South Sea bill had been framed and carried; of fatisfying the fufferers, who loudly appealed for indemnification, without detriment to the public; of drawing the difficult line between too much lenity and too much feverity; of reconciling the people to the king, and of calming the discontents, which threatened tumults and infurrections. He did not, Walpole forms however, shrink from the trial; but engaged in a plan for the restoration of the task with that ardour and affiduity which public credit. marked his character. After examining various propofals which were fubmitted to his confideration, he adopted a plan for ingrafting a certain portion of the South Sea stock in the bank and East India company; the first hint of which was fuggested by Jacombe \*, under secretary at war. Having amended the scheme in several instances, and prepared it for public deliberation, he referred it to the king, in a letter +, in which, after expreffing his strong sense of the difficulties which he had to encounter, he declared, that he engaged in the undertaking folely in obedience to his majesty's command. The king and cabinet having ratified the scheme, and the monied part of the nation having fanctioned it with their approbation, he came prepared to fubmit it to parliament.

<sup>\*</sup> Jacombe's letter to Robert Walpole, October 11. Correspondence, Period III. and Walpole's speech, at the end of this chapter.

<sup>†</sup> Correspondence, Period III.

Period III. confidence.

The moment in which it was publicly known 1720 to 1727. that Walpole, in conjunction with Townshend, Restores public was employed on a scheme for the restoration of public credit, a new spirit and resolution seemed to be infused into the nation. The country revived from its late defpondency; and his ability for finance was fo thoroughly appreciated, that a proposal which he made to the minister on the 10th of November, being agreed to, had fuch an inftantaneous effect, as again to raise the stock from 125 to 200 \*.

> On the meeting of parliament, Walpole had many difficulties to furmount, before he could venture to lay his plan before the house. One of the greatest arose from the zeal of those who were more remarkable for integrity than judgment, and whose indignation excited them to adopt such violent resolutions, as without producing any essential benefit to the fufferers, would have occasioned a total destruction of public credit.

Proceedings in parliament. December 8.

This vindictive spirit displayed itself in the first debate which took place on the king's speech. Pulteney having moved for an address, assuring his majesty that the commons would at this critical juncture proceed with all possible care, prudence, and temper, to inquire into the causes of those misfortunes, and apply the proper remedies for reftoring and fixing public credit upon fuch folid foundations, as might effectually give ease and quiet to the minds of his majesty's subjects: Ship-

<sup>\*</sup> Letter from William Pulteney to Daniel Pulteney, Correspondence, Period III. - Political State, 1729.

pen proposed an addition, after the words, "for Chapter 20. restoring public credit," " as far as it is consistent 1720 to 1721. with the honour of parliament, the interests of the nation, and the principles of justice." This amendment was warmly feconded; and occasioned a violent debate, in the course of which the directors were stigmatifed with every opprobrious appellation which language could fuggest. Several of the members urged the most bitter invectives against the act for vefting too large powers in a fet of men, whom they called miscreants, the scum of the people \*. Sir Joseph Jekyll hoped that all the directors were not equally culpable, but fure he was, that some who were not directors were highly criminal; and trusted that a British parliament would not want a vindictive power to punish great national crimes. Lord Molesworth owned that there were no laws in being to punish the South Sea directors, but contended that the example of the Romans ought to be followed, who, because their laws were defective, in not having provided a penalty for parricide, made one to punish the crime after it had been committed, and adjudged the guilty wretch to be fewed up in a fack and thrown alive into the Tyber. He concluded, " that as he looked upon the contrivers and executors of the South Sea scheme, as the parricides of their country, he should be fatisfied to see them undergo the same fate +."

<sup>\*</sup> T. Brodrick's Letters. Correspondence.

<sup>†</sup> Political State .- Chandler.

Period III.

In the height of this altercation, Walpole re-1720 to 1727 marked, that it was imprudent to begin the feffions with irritating inquiries before they examined the cause; that if the city of London was on fire. all wife men would rush forwards to extinguish the flames, and prevent the spreading of the conflagration, before they inquired who were the incendiaries. In like manner, public credit having received a most dangerous wound, and being still in a bleeding condition, they ought to apply a speedy remedy; and afterwards they might inquire into the cause of the calamity. "For my part," he continued, "I never approved the South Sea scheme, and am fensible it has done a great deal of mischief: but fince it cannot be undone, it is the duty of all good men, to affift in retrieving it: With this view, I have already bestowed some thoughts on a proposal to restore public credit, which, in a proper time, I will fubmit to the wisdom of parliament \*." This mild exhortation calmed the house, and the amendment was negatived by a majority of 261 against 103 . But although he carried his point at this time, yet on the next day, the temper of the house appearing more inclined to severity, he did not attempt to oppose the prevailing spirit; and an addition to the address, "for punishing the authors of our present calamities," being moved, was carried without a division.

In these debates, it appeared, for the the first time, that party had no concern; Whigs and Tories

Political State, vol. 20. p. 561.

could not be diftinguished by their votes. These Chapter 20. partialities were suspended, and almost annihilated 1720 to 1721. by various other passions, which produced numberless intrigues. Many of the commons were fincerely touched with the public calamities, or moved by their own private losses: others, disfatisfied with the ministry and court, were pleased to have an opportunity of covering their revenge, with the specious pretence of justice and the public good: fome had in view, by their loud and bitter cemplaints, to increase their own importance, or draw the attention of the opposite party; others, engaged in the fecret practices of the South Sea. hoped, by an affected severity, to prevent suspicion. A few there were, who concealed, under the appearance of zeal and indignation, their devotion to fome of the principal managers\*. The party hoftile to the established government took advantage of the public indignation, and excited the most violent clamours against those who, like Walpole, opposed extreme severity, and laboured to mitigate the spirit of revenge. Their views were directed to increase confusion and inflame discontent, with the hopes of procuring a majority of the disaffected in the new parliament, and by means of popular infurrections, to haften the reftoration of the Pretender, which they now looked up to as a certain event. Such were the views and temper of parties in the house of commons, which Walpole had to encounter, and fuch was the spirit of discontent

<sup>\*</sup> Tindal, vol. 19. p. \$79.

Period III.

which he had to allay, before he could carry any 1720 to 1727 scheme into execution; and yet it was in the midst of these discordant sentiments, and petulant oppofition, that by means of confummate prudence and management, he gradually brought the house to reason and discretion.

> A committee was appointed, on the 9th of December, to take into confideration the state of public credit on the 15th; but on the 12th it was moved, that the directors should forthwith lay before the house, an account of all their proceedings; this motion being warmly feconded and supported, was opposed by Craggs, Lord Hinchinbroke, and the two Walpoles. The previous question being called for against this delay, Sir Richard Steele argued, that this nation, which two years ago poffeffed more weight and greater credit than any other nation in Europe, was reduced to its prefent diffress by a few cyphering cits, a species of men of equal capacity, in all respects, (that of cheating a deluded people only excepted) with those animals who faved the capitol, who were now to be screened by those of greater figure, for what reason they best knew, others were at liberty to judge. In reply to an argument against the question, that this vindictive justice fo much contended for, would not be effectual, because it would be impracticable to procure a true account of the delinquents' estates, another urged, that all the laws against bankrupts enacted into one against the directors (for so he should call them, as a word that conveyed more obloquy than any other expression) would in his opinion,

opinion, attain the end proposed\*. Horace Wal- Chapter 20. pole, in speaking for the previous question, confessed 1720 to 1721. that the South Seascheme was weak in its projection, villanous in its execution, and calamitous in its end; but that, in his opinion, they ought to begin with applying a remedy to the evil. Walpole himfelf did not attempt to defend the directors; but faid, "that as he had already declared, he had passed some time upon a proposal for that purpose; he was, however, apprehensive, that if they went on in a warm, passionate way, the scheme might be rendered altogether impracticable: and therefore, he defired that the house would proceed regularly and calmly, left by running precipitately into odious inquiries, they should exasperate the distemper to fuch a degree, as to render all remedies ineffectual +."

In reply to this exhortation to mildness, Sir Joseph Jekyll enforced, with uncommon animation, the necessity of an immediate inquiry. He urged, that it was abfurd to attempt a cure before they were acquainted with the diforder; and was convinced that the wisdom of the house would not want schemes to apply proper remedies. Walpole, finding that this speech had made a deep impression, did not insist on the previous question, and fuffered the original motion to pass without a division. Several resolutions were accordingly car- Prudence of

<sup>\*</sup> T. Brodrick to Lord Middleton, December, 13 .- Correspondence. Period III.

<sup>†</sup> Political State for December 1720 .- Chandler.

Period III. ried, ordering the directors to deliver in an account of all their proceedings in relation to the execution of the South Sea act.

So great was the impatience of the commons, that on the 14th, complaints were made of the dilatoriness of the directors; on the 15th some of their accounts were laid before the house; on the 19th, Sir Joseph Jekyll moved for a select committee to inquire into all the proceedings relating to the South Sea act. The motion, however, was dropped, at the representation of Walpole, who observed, as on a former occasion, that public credit being in a bleeding condition, a speedy remedy should be applied, and therefore, any delay would be highly dangerous. This was immediately followed by invectives against stock-jobbers, to whose arts the public calamity was imputed; and a vote was paffed, without any opposition, "that nothing can tend more to the establishment of public credit. than preventing the infamous practice of stockjobbing \*."

After passing this vote, which was on the following day formed into a bill, Walpole ventured to found the temper of the house, in regard to the main question on which his scheme was founded. It was to facilitate the reduction of the national debt, by retaining that part of the South Sea act which would assist in promoting this end, and his speeches and conduct were uniformly

<sup>\*</sup> Political State for December.

directed to enforce this beneficial purpose. But Chapter 20. a mistaken principle of justice and compassion 1720 to 1721. feemed likely to prevent the fuccess of his scheme, or at least retard its effects. With a view to alleviate the fufferers, it was proposed among other things, to annul the contracts made by the South Sea company, to declare the subscriptions void, and to restore the proprietors of the public debts to their former state, or in other words, to leave the debt of the nation on the same footing on which it stood before the opening of the second South Sea subscription. To enforce this proposal. petitions were prefented to the house from several proprietors of the irredeemable debts and lottery tickets, " praying that their case might be taken into ferious confideration, and that they might be defended in their just rights against the illegal proceedings of the South Sea company, by forcing them to take stock for their debts, at a much higher rate than it would fell for; and admit them to be heard either by themselves or council, or grant them fuch other relief, as should be thought fit." This petition was warmly supported by Sir Joseph Jekyll, under the patriotic pretence of asferting public faith, equity, and justice, which had been notoriously violated by the directors.

In opposition to this specious, but impolitic proposal, Walpole explained the views with which the South Sea act was framed, which were to promote the landed and trading interest of the nation, by lessening the incumbrances, and reducing them to a method of being discharged in a few years.

This

Period III. 1720 to 1727.

Dec. 19 and

This falutary benefit would not, he added, be effected, unless a way had been found to make the annuities for long terms redeemable, which had been happily effected by the South Sea scheme, without a breach of parliamentary faith; and if they could now unravel what had been done, they fhould not only ruin the South Sea company, but, instead of alleviating, aggravate the present misfortunes; and he added, that if any injustice was done to the subscribers, they were at liberty to feek relief by law \*. He then claimed the attention of the committee; and faid, "That (as he had before hinted) he had prepared a scheme for restoring public credit, but that the execution of it depending upon a position which had been laid down as fundamental, he thought it proper, before he opened his scheme, to be informed, whether he might rely on the main foundation, that the fubfcriptions of public debts and incumbrances, money fubferiptions, and other contracts made with the South Sea company, should remain in the present state?" This was the cause of two long and violent debates. after which it passed in the affirmative, by a majority of 232 against 88, with a refervation in these words, "unless altered for the ease and relief of the proprietors, by a general court of the South Sea company, or fet aside by due course of law +.'

Walpole lays his scheme before the house. Dec. 21. Having thus gradually smoothed his way, and obtained the avowal of the commons, that the

fubscriptions.

Political State, vol. 20. p. 586.

<sup>+</sup> Journals.—Chandler.—Political State.—Brodrick's Letters. Correspondence, Period III.

subscriptions of the proprietors of the debt should Chapter 20. be confidered as valid, he brought forward his 1720 to 1721. scheme; it was, in substance, to engraft nine millions of stock into the bank of England, and the fame fum into the East India company, on certain conditions; the remaining twenty millions were to be left to the South Sea company. In his fpeech, recommending this plan, Walpole studioufly avoided the introduction of any speculative topics, or any affertions which were not proved by papers before the house: He promised, and frequently repeated, that he founded his calculations. on the veracity of those statements\*, and by his prudence in that refpect, filenced many cavils which must necessarily have arisen from affertions less closely connected with obvious and attainable proof. After a few objections, made by Hutchefon, and fome other members, it was ordered, that proposals should be received from the bank of England, and the East India company, for restoring public credit. It met however with a warm, but fruitless opposition from the three companies, because neither derived from it any peculiar advantage; their proposals were presented to the house, and a bill framed accordingly. In its passage through the commons, it was in some respects altered and amended; but the principal features were preferved. The chief management of the bufiness was committed to Walpole, and though it

<sup>\*</sup> Thomas Brodrick to Lord Middleton, 22d. December. Correspondence, Period III.

Feb. 22.

Period III. was violently \* opposed in its progress, yet his pru-1720 to, 1727. dence and discretion either gave way to the general clamour, or fubmitted to various amendments, or his weight and eloquence, aided by the influence of government, obtained a majority in its favour: it passed the house of lords, and received the royal affent.

The good effects of Walpole's scheme were coun-

Paffes the two houses.

March 22.

teracted by the petulant opposition of the advocates for indifcriminate feverity, and many unjust farcasms and violent invectives were thrown out against its author. Amongst others, Shippen, the inflexible opposer of lenient measures, observed, that the house had hitherto done nothing towards the restoration of public credit: that indeed, a member of great parts and abilities had, at first, proposed a scheme for that purpose; but that instead of proving an effectual remedy, it appeared at last to be a mere palliative, which had rather inflamed than alleviated the distemper. That by this time the whole injured nation called aloud for vengeance; and if they neglected to hear the voice of the people, it would look as if they had a mind to provoke them to do themselves justice . It was ever his opinion, that the only effectual means to restore credit, was to call those to a strict account,

who had ruined it; and in particular all fuch as had applied any part of the public money, intrusted

April 25.

<sup>\*</sup> January 3, on the first reading, 165 to 118 .- January 5, on the motion for adjourning the report, 153 against 140 .- January 10, against re-committing it, 267 to 134 .- February 7, on the second reading, 237 to 139.

<sup>+</sup> Chandler.

in their hands, in stock-jobbing, and had raised vast Chapter 20. fortunes by robbing the nation. He then moved, 1720 to 1721. that an inquiry should be made what public money had been employed in stock-jobbing, or in the purchase of annuities, or other parliamentary securities, by any officer of the revenue, to their own private advantage, fince the first day of December, 1719. Sir William Wyndham feconded the motion, and after animadverting on the profuse expenditure of the public money, and allowance of arrears, due to foreign troops, which had been taken into British pay, moved for copies to be laid before the house, of the several warrants and sign manuals, by virtue of which the late commissioners appointed to examine the debts of the army, iffued any certificates.

Walpole having expressed his furprise and stated his objection to this motion; Lechmere observed, that he was neither for or against it, but he would freely tell the gentleman who opposed it, that while the nation was under the pressure of heavy debts, he must expect that many motions would be made, for the purpose of finding out methods to ease the public burdens. That as that gentleman was now in a higher post than formerly, a great deal more was expected from him; the rather, because the scheme which he had proposed at the beginning of the fession, for raising the stocks, and restoring public credit, had not had the defired effect. Walpole, moved at this invective, could not contain his indignation. "It is known, he replied, that I ever was against the South Sea scheme, and have done

Period III. 1720 to 1727.

all that lay in my power to hinder its taking place; but when the mischief was done, and things were brought to fuch extremities, I thought it my duty, and therefore was willing to try the best method I could think of to extricate the nation out of its difficulties: I do not pretend to work miracles, but only to use my utmost endeavours towards retrieving the late misfortunes: with this honest intention I promoted a scheme which had been laid before me \*, and which appeared the most plausible of any then proposed, for restoring public credit: It cannot be denied, that while that scheme was pursued, it did some good, and kept up the price of stocks; and that they have fallen fince it has been laid afide: I never intended however to raise stocks above their intrinsic value, for that would bring us again into the same unhappy circumstances which their extraordinary rife had before occasioned." He then lamented the ill disposition of some persons who, instead of concurring with others in remedying the present distempers, used all possible means to irritate the minds of the people: and concluded with a motion for appointing a day to confider the flate of public credit, which was unanimously agreed to.

Although the engrafting scheme was not carried into execution, and was superseded by & the bill which passed at the close of the session for restoring public credit, yet it produced a beneficial effect, by

<sup>\*</sup> By Jacombe, under secretary at war. See note, p. 241.

<sup>1</sup> Journals .- Political State for April 1721, and Chandler.

calming the general discontents, and inducing the Chapter 20. proprietors of the national debt, who had feverely 1720 to 1721. fuffered from the South Sea infatuation, to form hopes of relief from the efforts of parliament.

## CHAPTER THE TWENTY-FIRST:

## 1721.

Public Indignation against the Directors .- Proceedings in Parliament .-Report of the Committee of Secrecy .- Rigorous Treatment of the Directors .- Bill of Pains and Penalties .- Moderation of Walpole .- Defends Charles Stanhope. Saves Sunderland. - Promotes the Bill for refloring Public Credit .- Advantages finally derived from the South Sea Scheme. - Arrears of the Civil List paid .- Controversy concerning the Bank Contract.

DURING the period in which this scheme was Indignation of carrying through both houses of parliament, the public. the loudest and most violent clamours were excited as well against the directors, as against the ministers who had promoted the South Sea act, which was confidered as the fole cause of the national diffrefs. The general infatuation in favour of the South Sea company was forgotten; and the frenzy of stock-jobbing was not taken into confideration. All the managers were indifcriminately involved in the same guilt; the very name of a director was fynonimous with every species of fraud and villany. Petitions from counties, cities, and boroughs, in all parts of the kingdom, were prefented to the house, crying for justice due to an injured nation against the villany of these peculators.

Period III. lators, and the fufferers looked up for indemnifi-1720 to 1727, cation from the confiscation of their property, or for vengeance in the punishment of their guilt. All those, who like Walpole opposed extreme severity and indifcriminate punishment, were exposed to repeated infults and virulent invectives; they were devoted, both in anonymous letters and public writings, to the speedy vengeance of a much injured people.

The popular frenzy feized parliament, and in-

fluenced their proceedings. On the recess, the house was divided into two parties; the one for

Parliamentary proceedings.

> applying an immediate remedy to the diffress occasioned by the South Sea act, was superior to that for inquiring into the causes of the national misfortunes, and punishing the authors, as the most effectual means of redreffing them. To the preponderant party Walpole inclined; and his opinion had great weight in inclining the decisions of the house to the lenient side. But at the meeting after the recefs, it immediately appeared that the vindictive party had gained the ascendancy; and that strong censures were thrown out against fome of the leading members of administration. Walpole foon perceived the general inclination of the house; conscious that all attempts, either to perfuade or oppose, could only serve to inflame their refentment, and deriving a warning from the intemperate heat of fecretary Craggs, he took but a small share in the debates which related to the

inquiries into the South Sea project, and the con-

duct of the directors.

April 30.

A committee

A committee of secrecy being appointed by the Chapter 21. commons to examine all the books, papers, and 1721. proceedings relating to the execution of the South Committee of Sea act, the members \* were chosen from the most secrecy. violent of those who were advocates for indiscriminate and unrelenting feverity. Alarmed at thefe proceedings, Knight, cashier of the company, who alone was privy to all the fecret transactions, escaped from England, soon after his first examination, carrying with him the register called the green book, and it was generally fuspected, that he took this step with the connivance of government. The committee having reported this event to the house, the commons ordered the doors to be locked, and the keys laid on the table. General Rofs then stated, that the committee had difcovered, " a train of the deepest villany and fraud hell ever contrived to ruin a nation, which, in due time, should be laid before the house." In con-Rigorous profequence of this vague affertion, four of the direc- against the tors, who were members, were expelled the house, directors. and taken into custody. The other directors

Jan. 23.

## \* This Committee was composed of the following persons: Thomas Brodrick, chairman.

Archibald Hutcheson, Sir Joseph Jekyll, Edward Wortley, Sir Thomas Pengelly. William Clayton, Edward Jefferies,

Lord Molefworth. Col. Strangways, William Sloper, N. Lechmere, General Ross, Hon. Dixie Windfor.

The heat and violence of Brodrick in this inquiry, are sufficiently shewn in his letters : (See Correspondence, Period III.) And the vindictive and acrimonious spirit of the majority of the committee is apparent in their speeches and motions on the subject, in Chandler, the Political State of Great Britain, &c.

fhared

Period III. shared the same fate; all their books, papers, and 1720 to 1727. effects were feized, and the royal affent was given. lan. 25, to a bill, for restraining them from leaving the kingdom, discovering their estates, and disqualifyng them for holding offices in any of the companies.

committee.

16 February. If any thing could justify these extraordinary Report of the acts of rigor, it was the report of the fecret committee, which when presented to the house, exposed a scene of fraud and iniquity almost unparalleled in the annals of history. The committee ftated that their inquiry had been attended with numerous embarrassments and difficulties; that in the different books were made false and fictitious entries; entries with blanks, erasures, and alterations, and in some, the leaves were torn out. Some books had been deftroyed, others fecreted.

> Before the South Sea bill was passed, and with a view to promote it, the directors, to whom the fecret management was principally intrusted, had disposed of a fictitious stock of f. 574,000; this flock was noted as fold at feveral days, and at various prices, from 150 to 325 per cent. amounting in the whole to f. 1,259,325, it was to be esteemed as holden of the company, for the benefit of the pretended purchasers, though no mutual agreement was then made for the delivery or acceptance of the stock at any stated time; no money was deposited, and no security given for the payment. By this contrivance, no loss could have been fustained, if the stock should fall, and the gain would be received, if it should rife.

As this fictitious stock was designed for pro- Chapter 21. moting the bill, the fub and deputy governors, Sir John Blunt, Mr. Gibbon, Mr. Chefter, Mr. Holditch, and Mr. Knight, the cashier, had the chief disposal of it, and it was distributed as follows:

1721.

To the earl of Sunderland, at the ref. quest of Mr. Craggs, senior - - -50,000 The dutchess of Kendal - - - 10,000 The countess of Platen - - - -10,000 Her two nieces - - - - -10,000 Mr. Craggs, fenior - - - - -30,000 Charles Stanhope, efquire - - -10,000 The fword blade company - - - -

It also appeared, that Charles Stanhope had received a difference of f. 250,000, through the hands of Sir George Caswal and Co. but that his name had been partly erased from their books, and altered to Stangape. That Aislabie, chancellor of the exchequer, had an account with Turner, Cafwal, and Co. to the amount of f. 794,451, and that he had advised the company to make the fecond subsciption f. 1,500,000, instead of a million, by their own authority, and without any warrant. That of the third fubscription, Aislabie's list amounted to f. 70,000, Sunderland's to £. 160,000, Craggs's to £. 659,000, and Stanhope's to f. 47,000. That on the pawned flock which had been fold, there was, by the means of Mr. Knight, a deficiency of f. 400,000. This report was fucceeded by fix others, less important; at the end of the last, the committee declared that

Period III. the absence of Knight, who had been principally, 1720 to 1727 and often solely intrusted, put a period to their inquiries into this black and destructive affair.

Farther proceedings.

In consequence of the first of these reports, the house passed several strong resolutions, after which a bill was brought in for the relief of the fufferers by the South Sea company, the title of which, on the third reading, was changed into a bill for raifing money on the estates of the sub, and deputy governors, directors, cashier, deputy cashier, and accountant of the South Sea company, and of Mr. Aislabie and Mr. Craggs, towards making good the damages fustained by the company, and for disabling such of those persons as were living, to hold any place, or fit in parliament for the future. In confequence of these resolutions, the greater part of the estates belonging to the directors, and to other persons mentioned therein, were confiscated to a very large amount, and applied towards discharging the debts of the company. The estates of the directors alone were valued at f. 2,014,123, the allowance made to them was f. 354,600, the confiscation therefore, amounted to f. 1,659,523. Yet these enormous forfeitures did not fatisfy the unrelenting advocates for extreme feverity, many of whom expected nothing less than confiscation of all \* their property, and

<sup>\*</sup> Infult was sometimes added to confiscation. On the motion for allowing Grigsby £. 10,000, whose estate was valued at £. 31,687, a member observed, that since that upstart had once been so prodigally vain as to bid his coachman feed his horses with gold, no doubt he could feed on it himself; and therefore he moved that he might be allowed as much gold as he could eat, and that the rest of his estate might go toward the relief of the sufferers. Political State. June 1721.

Teveral were diffatisfied, because the punishment Chapter 21.

of death was not inflicted \*.

1721.

An eminent historian has justly remarked, that Remarks on "the equity of modern times must condemn the the occasion. arbitrary proceedings which disgraced the cause of justice, by introducing a bill of pains and penalties, a retroactive statute, to punish offences which did not exist." "Against a bill of pains and penalties," he observes, "it is the common right of every subject to be heard by his council at the bar; they prayed to be heard, their prayer was refused; and their oppressors, who required no evidence, would listen to no defence ."

Walpole however is exempted from this just Moderation of Walpole. censure: we have already mentioned his endeayours to stem the torrent of parliamentary vengeance, and to incline the fentiments of the house to terms of moderation; and although the current of opinion ran violently against lenient meafures, yet he did not thrink from avowing his fentiments, when any flagrant act of injustice was going to be committed. Thus, when a motion was made for declaring the estates of Craggs liable to the same forfeitures as those of the directors, and his two fons in law, who were both members of the house, requested to be heard by counsel in right of their wives, as daughters of the deceased; he strenuously spoke in their favour. For his interpolition he incurred censure, and was ironically complimented by Lechmere, as being fully capa-

<sup>\*</sup> Saint John Brodrick to Lord Middleton, May 24. Correspondence.

<sup>†</sup> Gibbon's Memoirs, p. 11.

Period III. 1720 to 1727.

ble to advise them, and to serve them as counsel; an office he had already performed for so many others. Walpole finding that all appeals to reason and equity were ineffectual, and not willing to irritate the house, prudently returned no answer to this sarcasm, and the request was withdrawn.

At another period, when the directors prayed also to be heard by counsel, Walpole, though he avowed himself conscious that any thing which might be interpreted in favour of a South Sea director, would be very ill heard, and subject the speaker to great disadvantages; yet he defended their petition upon the just and obvious principle, that no criminal, however great, ought to be condemned unheard, or deprived of any advantage in making his defence.

Defends Charles Stanhope.

The part of these transactions which involved Walpole in the greatest embarrassment, was the necessity of defending the ministry against those attacks, to which their conduct had laid them open, but which, had they been too closely fcrutinifed, would have occasioned discoveries extremely dangerous in the irritated state of the public mind, and produced changes portentous of the greatest mischief. Stanhope had been charged by the report of the committee, with having taken, through Knight, f. 10,000 flock, without any valuable confideration, and with having bought, through Turner and company, f. 50,000 stock, at a very low price, by the difference of which he had gained £.250,000. In proof of these averments, the examinations of Sir John Blunt, Holditch,

Feb. 28.

ditch, Sawbridge, and Henry Blunt, were read, and they were interrogated at the bar, but their testimony rather detracted from, than strengthened their former depositions; and it was apparent as to the £.10,000, that Stanhope had received no stock without a valuable consideration, and that as to the £.50,000, his name had been used without his privity or consent. Yet the house was so little satisfied with this exculpation, that though Walpole and his brother Horace exerted great ability in his defence, he was acquitted by a majority of three only, 180 to 177\*.

Aislabie's case was so flagrant, and his crimina-March 8. lity verified by fo many proofs, that, on his first Aislabie exaccusation in the house of commons, neither Wal-pelled. pole or his friends attempted to defend him; he was expelled the house, and committed to the Tower. But when the bill was brought in for subjecting his estates in common with those of the South Sea directors, Walpole observed, that impeaching, not billing ministers, was the parliamentary rule of our ancestors, treated the bill as a bill, of attainder, and made a strong appeal to the compassion of the house, in favour of his wife and family . Failing in these efforts, he moved, that fuch parts of his property as had been in his pofsession towards the end of the year 1719, before the South Sea bill was brought in, might be exempted from confiscation. This was, however,

<sup>\*</sup> Thomas Brodrick to Lord Middleton, March 7. Correspondence, Period III.—Political State.—Chandler.—Tindal.

<sup>+</sup> Brodrick's Letters. Correspondence.

Period III. over-ruled, and it was finally carried, that all the 1720 to 1727. estate he possessed on the 20th of October 1718, should be allowed to him and his family.

Walpole faves Sunde-land.

To preferve Sunderland from the same censure which had involved Aislabie, and would have involved fecretary Craggs, had he lived, was the great object of the court. But as he was accused by the fecret committee of having received, through Knight, f. 50,000 fictitious stock, without having made any payment, or given any fecurity; and as the parliament had in many instances taken prefumption for guilt, and appearances for realities, it was no easy matter to turn the sense of the house in favour of the minister, who sat at the head of the treasury when the South Sea act was framed and carried. Under these inauspicious circumstances, Walpole, however, obtained the acquittal of Sunderland.

That part of the report which related to lord Sunderland, being proposed to be taken into confideration, was adjourned till the 15th of March, on the preffing instances of Walpole \*, as necesfarv for the farther information of the house, that feveral witnesses who had been examined by the committee, should be re-examined at the bar; as they might vary in their depositions, to give a different explanation to the words which they had made use of in their examination. Having obtained this point, the object of which was to delay the business, for the purpose of gaining over several of the Whigs, he represented to them, that

<sup>\*</sup> Brodrick's Letters. Correspondence.

if they gave their votes against Sunderland, and Chapter 21. he was difgracefully removed, their cause would 1721. fuffer, and the Tories be called into power. These representations had a due weight, and brought over many to his purpose. The proof of the fact rested principally on the affertion of Knight, as given on the oath of Sir John Blunt, who as president of the company, could not be supposed ignorant of the transaction; and who deposed to his having heard the particular declarations of Knight, that fuch stock had been taken, and a note of acknowledgment given by Sunderland. Of five directors examined at the bar, one could only affirm, that he was alone with Knight, when it was comes municated to him; and two others acknowledged, that Knight had informed them of the faid circumstances in presence of Sir John Blunt, but could not positively ascertain whether he was within hearing. Walpole, who had in a previous debate on the case of Charles Stanhope endeavoured to weaken the evidence, and illiberally exposed the character of Sir John Blunt as a fraudulent projector, purfued the fame line of conduct with increafed afperity. He declared himfelf authorifed by Sunderland to deny the fact, and to avow that no fuch stock had been taken in his name, and no fuch note given, and reprobated the idea, that fuch hearfay evidence should operate to the ruin. of the fortune and character of any man.

To Walpole Sunderland was indebted for his acquittal. His personal weight, his authoritative and perfuafive eloquence, were effectually employed on Period III. this occasion, and, aided by the influence of govern1720 to 1727 ment, met with fuccess. The minister was acquitted
by a majority of 61 votes, 233 against 172 \*.

Having obtained the acquittal of Sunderland, and secured the continuance of the Whig administration, of which he soon became the head, the great object of Walpole was directed to promote the restoration of public credit, which was in danger of being diminished, if not overturned, by the violent proceedings of the commons. In this delicate business he acted with his usual prudence, and though he could not in all instances prevent the adoption of measures which he did not approve, yet he mostly contrived either to delay their execution, or to mitigate their effect by various expedients.

Address of the commons.

As chairman of the committee, he drew up the address of the commons to the king; it reprefented the state of public credit, and recited perfectionally, in a full though summary manner, the consustant and mischiess which were derived from the execution of the satal South Sea scheme: It described the cause of those mischiess, explained the difficulty of applying proper remedies, and

<sup>\*</sup> Chandler.—Although the public voice, notwithstanding his acquittal by so large a majority, criminated Sunderland; yet several extenuations may be urged in his favour. For it appears from private documents which have casually fallen under my inspection, that so early as July, he had refused to recommend to the directors any more lists for subscriptions; that he did nor at least enrich himself or his friends; that he expressed great satisfaction, that neither himself or his friends had sold out any South Sea stock, as he would not have profited of the public calamity.—Letters from Eckersal and Drummond to Daniel Pulteney, Correspondence, Period III.

mentioned certain resolutions which had passed for Chapter 21. re-establishing public credit, remitting f. 4, 1 56,341, to the South Sea company, dividing all the remaining capital flock among the proprietors, and preventing flock-jobbing. These resolutions were Bill for restors made the foundation of an act that paffed under ing public the title of a bill for making feveral provisions to restore the public credit, which suffered by the frauds and milmanagements of the late South Sea directors and others.

In the paffage of the bill through the commons, a daring attempt was made to obtain its rejection. or to frustrate its effects. Though the general difposition of Walpole was mild and temperate, yet in this instance, when threats were employed to awe the legislative body into a compliance, he ftood forth the tupporter of parliamentary freedom. On Tumults in the day in which the bill for restoring public credit opposition to was to be read a fecond time, the lobby of the house of commons, and the adjacent places, were filled with a numerous body of proprietors of the fhort annuities and other redeemable debts, who tumultuoufly demanded justice of the members as they were passing, and put into their hands a printed letter to a member of parliament, in which "the unreasonableness and partiality of binding down the redeemables are fully demonstrated," and a written paper, containing these words; " pray do justice to the annuitants who lent their money on parliamentary fecurity." The justices of peace for the city of Westminster, and the constables, were instantly fent for, and the house proceeded to busi-

mels.

Period III, nefs. Sir John Ward presented the petition of 1720 to 1727 the proprietors of the redeemable funds, praying

to be heard by themselves or counsel against the bill. The petition being ordered to lie on the table, the bill was read a fecond time, and ordered to be committed. Sir John Ward then spoke in favour of the petition, and was feconded by Sir Gilbert Heathcote. Walpole observed, that he could not fee how the petitioners could be relieved; that the resolutions on which the bill was founded had been approved by the king and council, and been agreed to by a great majority of the house; he therefore moved for the previous question, and adjourning the debate. Brodrick warmly opposed the original motion, and was strenuously seconded by Sandys; but the question for adjourning was carried by a majority of 78 to 29. Meanwhile the tumult continuing, the justices of peace were commanded by the speaker to disperse the rioters, which they effected not without some difficulty, and after reading the riot act, many of them exclaiming as they retired, "You first pick our pockets, and then fend us to gaol for complaining." On the following day, the bill was laid before the committee, and, after some warm debates, in regard to the price at which the holders of the faid subscriptions should take South Sea flock, and the repeal of a clause for compelling the bankers to restore the whole money they had borrowed, which Walpole fuccessfully opposed, was carried in the affirmative, and ordered to be engroffed. On the 7th, it was read the third

Allayed.

Bill paffes.

time.

time, passed, and sent to the lords, and on the 10th Chapter 21. received the royal affent \*.

This bill for the restoration of public credit, arranged the affairs of the South Sea company in fuch a manner, that five millions of the feven, which the directors had agreed to pay the public, were remitted. The incumbrances were partly difcharged from the confiscation of the forfeited eftates; the credit of their bonds maintained, £.33. 6s. 8d. per cent. were divided among the proprietors; the company was foon in a fituation to fulfil its engagements with the public, and two millions were referved towards the liquidation of the national debt. But the proprietors made fuch loud and repeated complaints on the hardship of depriving them of these two millions, that the parliament afterwards remitted that fum, which made an addition of £.6. 5s. per cent.

The fpirit by which Walpole was directed, and the principles by which he acted, during the whole progress of this delicate business, are laid down in the speech from the throne, on the prorogation of

parliament, which he drew up.

"The common calamity, occasioned by the King's speech wicked execution of the South Sea scheme, was gation. become so very great before your meeting, that the providing proper remedies for it was very difficult; but it is a great comfort to me to observe, that public credit now begins to recover; which gives me the greatest hopes that it will be entirely re-

<sup>\*</sup> Journals .- Political State for July and August.

Period III. stored, when all the provisions you have made for 1720 to 1727. that end, shall be duly put in execution. I have great compassion for the sufferings of the innocent, and a just indignation against the guilty; and have readily given my affent to fuch bills as you have presented to me, for punishing the authors of our late misfortunes, and for obtaining the restitution and fatisfaction due to those who have been injured by them, in fuch a manner as you judged proper. I was at the fame time willing and defirous, by my free and general pardon, to give ease and quiet to the rest of my subjects, many of whom may, in fuch a general infatuation, have been unwarily drawn in to transgress the laws \*."

Advantages derived from the South Sea fcheme.

Thus at length, by the ability, address, and perfeverance of Walpole, the fatal project of the South Sea was converted into a national benefit; the diftreffes are forgotten, and the advantages remain. Although by the remission of the seven millions, the public did not enjoy all the benefits which had been fanguinely expected, yet much greater advantage was derived than is usually supposed. f. 632,698 of long and short annuities were converted into redeemable flock, which at this time bears an interest of only 3 per cent. and the interest on the company's capital was reduced at Midfum. mer 1727 to 4 per cent. By this the public gained annually f. 339,631, which, calculated at 25 years purchase, was worth above 8 millions . This reduction was also productive of great use and na-

<sup>\*</sup> Journals.

<sup>+</sup> Sinclair on the Revenue, Part 2. p. 106.

tional advantage; it was a precedent for future Chapter 21. arrangements of a fimilar nature, and in 1724, 1721.

3,775,027 was also reduced to 4 per cent \*.

In the midst of these distresses, from the decline Payment of the

of public credit, and dearth of money, the enormous profusion of Sunderland's administration. laid Walpole under the necessity of applying to parliament for the discharge of the debts of the civil lift, which amounted to no lefs a fum than 1.550,000. To propose the laying on of new burdens on the people for the discharge of these arrears, in this moment of general calamity, would have been exeremely unpopular, and perhaps not practicable. Walpole, therefore, hit upon an expedient which effectually succeeded, without imposing an additional tax on the public at large. It was to make the civil lift discharge its own arrears, by deducting fix pence in the pound on all payments from the crown, towards raising a fund for liquidating the interest of the sum required. The proposal being, on the 12th of July, laid before a committee of the whole house, Pulteney, who though not in opposition yet began to be diffatisfied with the administration, moved for a deduction of one shilling in the pound, adding, that if this deduction were too much for the present occasion, it might be applied to the discharge of the civil list debts. This motion was carried by 153 voices against 63 . On the 14th, this resolution being submitted to the house, was opposed with

<sup>\*</sup> Sinclair, p. 106.

<sup>+</sup> Political State for July 1721.

Period III. greater effect by the friends of administration, and 1720 to 1727. negatived by a majority of 132 against 83\*. The original proposition was then moved, and passed without a division, "That his majesty should be enabled to raife any fum not exceeding £.500,000, to discharge the arrears and debts due and owing upon the civil lift to his servants and others, by fettling a yearly fund for payment of annuities, after the rate of five pounds per cent. per annum. out of the civil lift revenues, until the same shall be redeemed by the crown; and that his majefty his heirs and fucceffors, be enabled to make good, for the uses of the civil government, all such money as from time to time shall have been paid thereupon, by caufing a deduction, not exceeding fix pence in the pound, to be made out of falaries, wages, penfions, or other payments from the crown ." Thus Walpole arranged this delicate business, which he was often heard to fay t gave him much embarraffment, and on the fuccessful iffue of which he prided himself as much as on any other financial operation which he effected during the course of his administration.

> The whole conduct of Walpole in the South Sea bufiness, was fanctioned by both houses of parliament, and approved by the nation in general. No invective was thrown out against him, even by party, except that he had employed the power of government and his own influence in screening Sun-

<sup>\*</sup> Chandler.

<sup>†</sup> Journals .- Political State .- Chandler.

I From Lord Orford.

1721.

derland; and that he had endeavoured to prevent Chapter 21. the justice of the nation from overwhelming the projectors of the fatal South Sea scheme. For this cause, he was invidiously reviled in the periodical writings and pamphlets of the times, and Saint John Brodrick, in a letter to the lord chancellor Middleton, laments that the interposition of Walpole, whom he stigmatises by the name of the Screen, faved the directors from confifcation and hanging. But at the distance of fourteen years, the opposition accused him of having fraudulently proposed the bank contract, and of deluding the unhappy fufferers with false hopes of relief. It was afferted that he took a fcandalous advantage of the general calamity, and made the misfortunes of his country the means of enriching himself; that he had concerted the project feveral months before with the bank, and that in order to engage the governors confent, he gave them private affurances of being released from their engagement, if it should prove unfavourable.

This attack on the character of Walpole was managed, in the Craftsman, and other antiministerial writings\*, with all the art and ftrength which could be fupplied by the fophistry of Bolingbroke, and the wit of Pulteney. The charge was also rendered more plausible by the concurrence of Aislabie, who, in conjunction with secretary Craggs, had been confidered as the principal manager of the business on the side of government, and was

present

<sup>\*</sup> Case of the Sinking Fund, Craftsman for 1735.

Period III. present at the meeting in which the contract was 1720 to 1727 figned. This heinous charge was answered by the minister himself, and by the writers \* in his interest. Without entering into a tedious inquiry on this subject, or attempting to justify the conduct of Walpole in every particular, I shall observe, that on a candid review of the whole controversy, it appears that an accusation urged for the first time fourteen years after the fact, when it was imposfible for him to recollect all the circumstances, and to justify every part of the transaction, was malicious in itself, and undeserving of credit. It may be also remarked, that the affertions of Aislabie, cannot be admitted as fair evidence in his own, cause; and that he falsely arraigned the minister, may be implied from a private letter + written in 1722, in which he frankly confessed his own folly and weakness in promoting the South Sea scheme, and expressed, in the strongest terms, his gratitude for the kindness and lenity shewn to him by government, which he folely imputes to the interference of Walpole.

> In regard to the most heinous part of the charge, that he had first induced the bank to accede to the agreement, and "afterwards released them from the obligation, when his own private purposes were ferved;" the bank contract, it was answered, being precipitately drawn up in the midst of general alarm and despondency, and at the earnest impor-

<sup>\*</sup> Some Considerations on the Public Funds, Gazetteer for 1735, paffim.

<sup>†</sup> Correspondence, Period III.

tunity of the ministry and South Sea directors, Chapter 21. there could be no collusion betwixt him and the bank; and no blame could attach to him, because the governors refused to fulfil the terms of an agreement they had reluctantly acceded to, which if they had fulfilled, would have involved the bank and South Sea company in equal ruin.

It must not be omitted, that soon after the bank contract was drawn up, and the ingraftment scheme had passed, he was accused of favouring the bank, in preference to the South Sea company, that he might fell out the money he had in the bank at an ad. vanced price. But as in reply to this attack, he had publicly declared in the house of commons! that he had not one penny in the bank at that juncture; but poffessed a large stock in the South Sea company, his opponents afterwards, in 1735, reverfed the accusation and declared that he had adopted those measures to favour the South Sea in preference to the bank, that he might fell out the money he had in that flock at an advanced price. These two contradictory affertions destroy each other, and prove the weakness of both.

Period III. 1720 to 1727.

### CHAPTER THE TWENTY-SECOND:

1721-1722.

Townshend appointed Secretary of State on the Death of Earl Stanhope, and Walpole First Lord of the Treasury on the Resignation of Sunderland.—Supports the Swedish Subsidy.—Affairs of Sweden to the Peace of Nystadt.—Domestic Transactions.—Commercial Regulations.—Abolition of various Duties.—Importation of Naval Stores encouraged.—Advancement of national Industry.—Dean Tucker's Eulogium of Walpole.

February 4.
Townshend secretary of state.
Walpole first lord of the treasury.

THE death of earl Stanhope, and the accufation of Sunderland, opened the way to the re-establishment of Townshend and Walpole in their former places: for although Sunderland had been acquitted by a confiderable majority, yet the public opinion was too unfavourable for him to be continued in the office of first lord of the treasury. The negotiation for fettling the new administration had been entrusted, by Devonshire and Townshend, to the management of Walpole; and it was not without great difficulty that Sunderland, who maintained the most unbounded influence over the fovereign, had been induced, or rather compelled, to confent to the proposed arrangement, and particularly to relinquish the disposal of the secret fervice money \*; but he at length acceded. Townshend had been previously appointed secretary of state on the death of Stanhope. Methuen was made comptroller of the household, Walpole first

April 2.

<sup>\*</sup> Pulteney's Answer to one Part of a late infamous Libel, p. 55.

lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exche- Chapter 22. quer, and a new board, confifting of his confiden- 1721 to 1722. tial friends\*, was nominated at his difcretion.

Almost the first measure of government which Supports the Walpole supported in the house of commons after swedish subhis elevation, feemed to belie his conduct while in opposition, for which he has been bitterly reproached by those writers who perceive no difference between opposing a treaty before it is concluded, and supporting the national honour by adhering to it when ratified.

The death of Charles the Twelfth was the pre-Affairs of lude to the pacification of the north; and changed Sweden. the fituation of Sweden, and the fystem of English politics in that quarter. On that event, Charles Frederic duke of Holstein Gottorp, the fon of Hedwige, eldest sister of Charles, was the next heir; and if hereditary right had prevailed, would have fucceeded to the throne. But the preponderating party in Sweden, espoused the pretentions of Ulrica Eleonora, youngest sister of the deceased monarch, who was married to Frederic prince of Heffe Caffel.

The news of the king's death no fooner reached Stockholm, than the fenate repaired to the apartment of Ulrica, and congratulated her on her accession to the throne +; at the same time the new queen declared her consent to renounce that absolute power which Charles the Eleventh had vested

<sup>\*</sup> George Baley, Sir Charles Turner, Henry Pelham, Richard Edgecumbe.

<sup>+</sup> Lagerbring Hift. de Suède.

Period III.

in the crown, and which had proved the fource of 1720 to 1727 many calamities to Sweden. Her title was foon afterwards acknowledged by the army, in opposition to the remonstrances of the duke of Holstein, who laid claim to the throne as his right by hereditary descent; and the pretensions of his rival were confirmed by the states, which affembled at Stockholm on the 20th of January 1719. In that affembly, count Horn, a nobleman of great distinction and capacity, observed in full fenate, and in the prefence of the queen, with whom he had concerted the declaration, that both Ulrica and her fifter Hedwige had forfeited their title to the crown, because their marriages had not been confirmed by the states. On the meeting of the states, Ulrica delivered a memorial, in which the disclaimed all pretenfions, and that the throne being vacant, they might proceed to an election. On this formal renunciation, Ulrica Eleonora was elected by the states, and gave her consent to the new form of government, which rendered the fovereign of Sweden, from the most absolute, the most limited monarch in Europe. The new queen, or rather the fenate, who possessed the whole power of government, had fufficient occupation to deliver the country from the dreadful fituation to which it had been reduced by a war of twenty years, and to conclude terms of pacification with Hanover, Prussia, Denmark, Poland, and Ruffia.

Before the death of Charles the Twelfth, a congress had been held in the Isle of Aland, between the Swedish and Rrussian plenipotentiaries; had

the Swedish monarch lived, Baron Gortz could Chapter 22. have reconciled Peter and Charles, both equally 1721 to 1722. incensed against George the First; and a combined army of Swedes and Russians, after conquering Norway, would have landed in Scotland for the purpose of placing the Pretender on the throne of Great Britain.

On the death of Charles, George, though involved in disputes with Spain, yet secure of the co-operation of France, dispatched Carteret and Bassewitz to break up the congress of Aland, and to prevent the pacification between Russia and Sweden, from a dread, lest their union should render his mediation unnecessary, and induce Sweden to decline confirming the cession of Bremen and Verden. Carteret succeeded in his negotiation, and is applauded, though not without regret, by the Swedish historians\*, for the consummate address with which he prevailed on Sweden to conclude a separate peace with Hanover, which was followed by a subsidiary alliance with England, under the mediation and guarantee of France.

Before the pacification was finally concluded, Sweden fuffered severely for breaking off the congress of Aland. The Danes took Marstrand, the Gibraltar of the north, and threatened Gotheborg, Forty thousand Russians landed in different parts of Sweden, and carried havock and destruction into the kingdom, reduced eight towns, and above 1,300 villages to ashes 4. The arrival of the Eng-

<sup>\*</sup> Lagerbring, Hist. de Suede,

<sup>†</sup> Schmidt Ruff. Gesch. vol. 2. p. 3084

Period III. lish fleet put a temporary stop to this invasion, and hastened the peace of Sweden with Hanover, Prusfia, and Denmark. Carteret, supported by the presence of an English fleet in the Baltic, deluded Sweden \* with promifes to affift in wresting from Russia the conquered provinces, and prevailed on her to confirm the cession of Bremen and Verden to Hanover: Stetin and the district between the Oder and Plene, to Pruffia; to renounce the claims of exemption from the Sound duties, and to engage not to affift the duke of Holftein, should he attempt the recovery of Slefwic. Denmark gave back to Sweden Marstrand, Stralfund, and the Isle of Wismar for 600,000 rixdollars, relinquished her alliance with Ruffia; and, as an indemnification for the conquests restored, England and France gratified Denmark by guarantying Slefwic ...

Peter, incenfed at these treaties, which exposed him fingly to the united forces of Sweden and England, did not lose courage, but continued his invasion of Sweden, which the English fleet could not prevent; arrested the English merchants who were fettled in his dominions, and his refident in London delivered a strong memorial against the infolent interpolition of Great Britain.

parliament.

Proceedings in In consequence of the Russian invasion, Sweden had recourse to England for affistance. The king fent a fleet into the Baltic, and applied to parliament for a fubfidy of £.72,000, according to the terms stipulated by the treaty of alliance, The

June 19.

<sup>\*</sup> Lagerbring.

<sup>†</sup> Mallet, Hist. de Danuemarc.

motion to make good these engagements was vio- Chapter 22 lently opposed in the house of commons by Sir 1721 to 1722. William Wyndham, Shippen, and lord Molefworth, who had long refided in Denmark, and who published an excellent account of that kingdom. He ably contended, that the alliance was contrary to former treaties with Denmark and Russia: that it was unjust to insist that Peter should restore his conquests, while other princes retained the spoils of Sweden; and that the only equitable mode of proceeding, was for Pruffia to reftore Stetin, and the elector of Hanover, Bremen and Verden; he artfully infinuated that the claim to Mecklenburgh was one of the causes which occasioned the rupture with Russia; urged that England ought not to intermeddle with the affairs of the empire; and that the procuring of naval stores was the principal advantage of our trade to the Baltic. To these ftrong arguments Walpole could only reply, that the fubfidy allowed to Sweden and the mission of the squadron to the Baltic had been stipulated by former engagements, which, if not complied with, would affect the national honour. But the chief motive which induced the parliament to grant this fubfidy, was the declaration that another would not be demanded, as the preliminaries between Ruffia and Sweden were wholly fettled; yet fo strong were the objections to the hostilities against Russia, that the motion for the subsidy was only carried by a majority of 59 \*.

Sweden deriving no effectual affiftance from

<sup>\*</sup> Journals .-- Chandler.

Period III. 1720 to 1727-Peace of Nystadt.

September.

England, was compelled to receive the terms of peace dictated by Russia; and Peter, refusing to accept the mediation of a power which had offended him, granted, under the guarantee of France, the peace of Nystadt. Sweden ceded to Russia Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, part of Carelia, and the district of Viborg in Finland. In return, Peter restored the remaining part of Finland, paid 2,000,000 rixdollars (£.500,000) as an indemnification for Livonia, and promised not to interfere in the domestic concerns of Sweden.

During these transactions, Ulrica Eleonora had resigned the crown in savour of her husband Frederic the First, who purchased his election by confirming all limitations of prerogative to which the queen had consented. This transfer of the crown occasioned many discontents, increased the Holstein faction, gave to Peter the Great the means of gaining a strong party in the senate, and enabled him to soment the internal discontents natural to a popular government; it exposed the country to future conflicts in the north, and entailed on the British administration, a series of complicated and difficult negotiations.

Commercial Regulations.

Walpole had icarcely fettled the business of the South Sea, and restored public credit, when he turned his attention to trade and manufactures, and gave a convincing proof of his liberal and extensive views. On being again placed at the head of the treasury, he found the foreign trade shackled with numerous petty duties and impoverishing taxes, which obstructed the exportation of our manufactures.

manufactures, and lessened the importation of the Chapter 22. most necessary commodities. Walpole framed the noble plan of abolishing at once all these restrictions, and giving freedom to the most valuable branches of our external and internal commerce.

The speech delivered from the throne at the Oaober 19. opening of the seventh and last session of this ever memorable parliament, in conformity to this plans is justly praised by Uztariz\*, an eminent Spanish writer, as a model of good sense and liberality of spirit. It was drawn up by Walpole, and contains the great outlines of the salutary plan which he had formed for the extension of trade.

" In this fituation of affairs, we should be ex-Kirg's foods tremely wanting to ourselves, if we neglected to improve the favourable opportunity which this general tranquillity gives us, of extending our commerce, upon which the riches and grandeur of this nation chiefly depend. It is very obvious, that nothing would more conduce to the obtaining fo public a good, than to make the exportation of our own manufactures, and the importation of the commodities used in the manufacturing of them, as practicable and as easy as may be; by this means, the balance of trade may be preferved in our favour, our navigation increased, and greater numbers of our poor employed. I must therefore recommend it to you, gentlemen of the house of commons, to consider how far the duties

Watariz, Theory and Practice of Commerce, ch. 28.vol. 1. p. 131,

Period III. 1720 to 1727.

upon these branches may be taken off, and replaced without any violation of public faith, or laying any new burthen upon my people. And I promise myself, that by a due consideration of this matter, the produce of those duties, compared with the infinite advantages that will accrue to the kingdom by their being taken off, will be found so inconsiderable, as to leave little room for any difficulties or objections.

"The fupplying ourselves with naval stores." upon terms the most easy and least precarious, feems highly to deserve the care and attention of parliament. Our plantations in America naturally abound with most of the proper materials for this necessary and essential part of our trade and maritime strength; and if by due encouragement, we could be furnished from thence with those naval stores, which we are now obliged to purchase, and bring from foreign countries, it would not only greatly contribute to the riches, influence, and power of this nation, but, by employing our own colonies in this useful and advantageous service, divert them from fetting up, and carrying on manufactures which directly interfere with those of Great Britain \*."

Abolition of various duties.

In consequence of this recommendation, one hundred and fix articles of British manufacture were allowed to be exported, and thirty-eight articles of raw materials to be imported duty free.

Importation of The other great object recommended in the encouraged. speech, which regarded the importation of naval

<sup>\* .</sup> Chandler, vol. 6. p. 263.

flores from the American colonies, was effected Chapter 22. in the same sessions. It had long been a matter 1721 to 1723 of complaint, that the importation of naval stores, which were principally drawn from the Baltic, was clogged with numerous duties, and raifed to an enormous price. It was found, on inquiry into the commerce with Ruffia, Sweden, Denmark, and the Hanseatic towns, that the imports exceeded the exports to the amount of more than f. 200,000; it was proved that fince the Ruffia company had engroffed the trade to that country, the price of tar had been doubled, and it was likewife notorious, that the fupplies of naval stores might be prohibited, should England be at war with Russia. and the Czar, with a view to increase his own navy, infift that naval flores should only be exported in Russian vessels. It was an obvious remark, that fince these commodities were necessary for the navy, it was impolitic to be at the mercy of a foreign prince, especially as we might be supplied from our own plantations on eafier terms, and in exchange for our own manufactures. Such were the motives which induced Walpole to countenance a bill for encouraging the introduction of naval stores, and granting bounties and premiums to the importers of them from our colonies in North América.

It is the observation of a judicious writer \*, Tucker's that the advancements which have been made in walpon. shipping, commerce, manufactures, and in all kinds

<sup>\*</sup> Tucker's Theory of Commerce, p. 149. printed, but never published.—Anderson on Commerce.—Chalmers's Estimate, p. 96.

Period III. 1720 to 1727. of industry, fince the passing of this law, have been prodigious; and it cannot be denied, even by the bitterest enemies of the minister, that this national improvement was principally due to his liberal and enlarged spirit. He adds, "I am perfuaded, that impartial posterity will acknowledge, that if ever a statesman deserved well of the public, Sir Robert Walpole was that man." And yet none of the English historians have paid a due tribute of applause to these beneficial exertions of ministerial capacity: while some of them enter, with a tedious minuteness, into a detail of foreign transactions, and echo from one to the other the never-failing topic of Hanoverian influence; while they dwell with malignant pleasure on those parts of his conduct, which in their opinion. prove the afcendancy of influence and corruption; while they repeat the speeches and reproaches of opposition, they fuffer these falutary regulations, which ought to render the name of Walpole dear to every Englishman, to be principally confined to books of rates and taxes, and only to be mentioned by commercial writers.

Influence of Sunderland, not diminished.

Although Sunderland had refigned all his official employments, yet he still retained his influence at court, and never heartily coalesced with the new ministers. He had obtained the appointment of lord Carteret to be secretary of state in the place of Craggs, who died on the 16th of February, and the presidentship of the council for lord Carleton, in preference to the duke of Devonshire, who was supported by all the influence

of Townshend and Walpole. He fomented a di- Chapter 22. vision in the cabinet, and carried several points in 1721 to 1722. opposition to the other members.

The conduct of Sunderland at this period, is Mystery of his conduct. involved in fo much mystery, as to leave his character open to every fuspicion. It is impossible to ascertain to what fatal purpose he meant to employ his afcendancy over his fovereign, or to what extremes he might have been driven by his disgust against the prince of Wales; he intrigued with the Tories, and \* made overtures to bishop Atterbury. He proposed, at a time when the ferment occasioned by the South Sea scheme was at its extreme height, to diffolve the parliament, and induced the king to fanction his views, by perfuading him that there was not money enough in the treasury to secure the return of a Whig majority, and that the Tories, under his influence, would screen the projectors of the South Sea, and suppress all inquiry on the subject. But this dangerous and infidious propofal was over-ruled by the fagacity and intrepidity of Walpole, who represented the extreme danger and impolicy of the measure, and took on himself the charge of finding the fums necessary to support the Whig majority . Sunderland did not dare to avow any intimate connection with, or preference of the Tories, and was obliged to yield to these arguments and affurances; but the Pretender and the Jacobites certainly, at this time, entertained the most fanguine hopes. Sunderland became a great fa-

Period III. 1720 to 1727.

vourite with them and the Tories, his health was conftantly drank \* by them, and they affected to be fecure of attaining, by his means, the accomplishment of their wishes.

Not all the fervices which Walpole had performed to his king, to his country, not even his merit in screening Sunderland from the rage of the house of commons; could expiate the crime of having superfeded that ambitious and domineering minister at the head of the treasury, who dreaded his abilities and popularity, and who faw in him a rival not unlikely to supplant him in the confidence and favour of the fovereign. Sunderland, jealous of his growing power, determined either to remove him from his fituation in the house of commons, or again to obtain his dismis-

remove Wal-

His attempt to fion. Under the semblance of favour, he requestpole defeated. ed the king to create him postmaster general for life; a lucrative office, which if he accepted would incapacitate him from a feat in parliament, and if he refused, would subject him to the resentment of his fovereign. Contrary, however, to his expectations, George inquired if Walpole had defired it, or was acquainted with it: Sunderland replied in the negative: "then" returned the king, " do not make him the offer, I parted with him once against my inclination, and I will never part with him again as long as he is willing to ferve me ." This unexpected demur suspended the defigns of Sunderland; and his death, which hap-

Death of Sunderland.

<sup>\*</sup> Secret Intelligence .- Townshend Papers.

<sup>†</sup> Horace Walpole to Etough, July 31, 1731.

pened on the 19th of April 1722, prevented his Chapter 22. attempts to remove Walpole, which, confidering 1721 to 1722. his influence and ascendancy, might have been finally successful.

### CHAPTER THE TWENTY-THIRD:

# 1722-1723.

Meeting of the new Parliament.—Atterbury's Plot.—Memoirs.—Bill of Pains and Penalties.—Conduct in Exile.—Death.—Tax on the Estates of Roman Catholics, and Non-jurors.

THE parliament, in pursuance of the opinion of Walpole, was not dissolved until the 10th of March, a few days before it would have died a natural death. The new parliament assembled on the 19th Meeting of the of October; and it soon appeared, that the proment mise of Walpole to obtain a majority of Whigs was fulfilled.

During the ferment of the general election, the Atterbury's plot of which bishop Atterbury was the head, was plot. detected, and from the mention of it in the king's speech, it became the first object which engaged the attention of the legislature. As Walpole, from his situation and intelligence, procured the earliest information of this conspiracy, and took an active share in the prosecution, I shall throw together a few anecdotes of bishop Atterbury, and add such new information as can be derived from the Orford and Walpole Papers.

Francis Atterbury was born at Middleton, near Account of Newport Pagnel, in Buckinghamshire, in 1662.

He

Period III. He received his education at Westminster school, 17.20 to 1727. and was from thence elected a student of Christ Church College Oxford. At both places he took indefatigable pains in improving himself, and at a very early period, was distinguished for elegance of taste, and knowledge of classical literature, which he displayed in a Latin version of Dryden's Abfalom and Achitophel, and a translation of some odes of Horace. In the 24th year of his age he proved his talents in controversial writing, by vindicating Martin Luther, in a publication, which induced Burnet to rank him among those eminent divines who had fignalifed themselves by their admirable defences of the Protestant religion. On taking orders, he acquired a high reputation by his talent in preaching, and by supporting, against Hoadly and Wake, the doctrines of the high church. Bred up in Tory principles, he wrote in favour of paffive obedience, and displayed so much learning and ingenuity, that he was chosen prolocutor of the lower house of convocation, and chiefly managed the affairs in that affemby. A fimilarity of opinion induced him warmly to espouse the cause of his friend Sacheverel, and he is supposed to have had the principal share in drawing up the masterly defence which the doctor delivered at his trial. He was first patronised by Sir Jonathan Trelawney, bishop of Exeter; appointed by the Tory administration of queen Anne, dean of Christ church, and, in 1713, advanced, at the recommendation of the earl of Oxford, to the bishopric of Rochester and deanery of Westminster. At that period he

was in fuch high estimation with the queen and Chapter 23. ministry, that he was not unfrequently consulted 1722 to 1723. in points of the utmost importance. He was always inimical to the succession of the Hanover line, and on the death of queen Anne, was accused, by Harcourt, of having offered to assist at the proclamation of the Pretender, in his lawn sleeves; and when Ormond and Bolingbroke declined taking any vigorous step, is reported to have exclaimed, "Never was a better cause lost for want of spirit!" It is certain that he was involved in the schemes of Bolingbroke, and a letter from that minister \* foon after the queen's death, proves the extreme considence reposed in him.

. On the accession of George the First, he received evident marks of coldness from the new fovereign; and on the breaking out of the rebellion, gave an instance of his disaffection, by refusing to fign the declaration of the bishops, in favour of the crown. He uniformly employed his great eloquence in the house of lords, in opposing the meafares of government, and in drawing up the most violent protests. Atterbury was of a restless afpiring temper, and eager to obtain the highest honours of the church, which he would certainly have acquired, had not queen Anne died. The active part which he had taken during her reign, against the fuccession of the house of Brunswick, and his uniform opposition to the government of the new dovereign, precluded him from all expectations of

<sup>\*</sup> Macpherson's Papers, vol. 2. p. 651.

Period III. promotion. But when Sunderland courted the 1720 to 1727. Tories, and made overtures to him as to the leader of the disaffected party, his conduct was so equivocal, that his friends \* reproached him with having deserted his principles; and his enemies did not hesitate afferting that he had engaged in a conspiracy against the government, because his demand of the bishoprick of Winchester was rejected. There seems, however, to be no foundation for

these reslections; it is probable, that in listening to the overtures of Sunderland, he conceived hopes, that the minister was inclined to promote the cause of the Pretender, and that Sunderland was duped by him, rather than that he was duped by Sunderland. And if we may judge from the inslexibility of his character, there is reason to believe that he rejected all offers of promotion, and was

Conspiracy discovered by the regent. It appears from Sir Luke Schaub's correspondence from Paris ‡, that the first intimation of the conspiracy in which he was engaged, came from the regent duke of Orleans, to whom the agents of the Pretender communicated the plot, in hopes of receiving assistance from him, and that he betrayed them to the king of England.

never inclined to defert his party ...

Habeas corpus suspended. In consequence of his full conviction of the truth and danger of the conspiracy, Walpole took an active share in conducting the prosecution: He shrst mentioned it to the house, when the bill for

<sup>\*</sup> Prior to Swift, April 25, 1721 .- Swift's Letters, vol. z.

<sup>†</sup> Biographia Britannica. — Article Atterbury. — Memoirs of his Life prefixed to his Miscellaneous Works by Nicholls.

<sup>1</sup> Hardwicke Papers.

suspending the habeas corpus act was opposed, and Chapter 23. a motion made to limit its duration to fix months, 1722 to 1723. This motion being strongly and ably seconded, feemed on the point of being carried, when Walpole laid before the house some particulars of the conspiracy; he said, "That this wicked design was formed about Christmas last; that the conspirators had at first made application to some potentates abroad, for an affiftance of 5,000 men: that being denied, they afterwards, about the month of April, made farther application, and earnest instances for 3,000; that being again disappointed in their expectations from foreign affistance, they refolved desperately to go on, confiding in their own strength, and fondly depending on the disaffection of England; and that their first attempt was to have been the feizing of the bank, the exchequer, and other places where the public money was lodged: that although government had undoubted informations of this plot ever fince May last: no persons had been apprehended, because there being then two terms coming on together, they would have had the benefit of the habeas corpus act, and their arrest was deferred till the long vacation." He added, "That the traiterous defigus against his majesty's person and government had been projecting ever fince the death of the late queen; and evident proofs would appear that there had been a meeting of some considerable persons, one of whom was not far off, wherein it had been proposed to proclaim the Pretender at the Royal Exchange; that an exact account of

1722.

this detestable conspiracy would, in due time, be 1720 to 1727: laid before parliament." He concluded, by obferving, "that although it was true, that the habeas corpus act had never before been suspended for above fix months; yet, as the lords had made this fuspension for a whole year, if the commons should propose any alteration, it might occasion a difference between the two houses, which, at this time of jealoufy and danger, might be attended with bad effects in foreign courts\*." Accordingly the bill was carried by a majority of 246 against 193.

Bills of pains and penalties bury.

March 22d.

2 sth.

zoth.

Bills of pains and penalties passed against the inagainst Atter- ferior agents, Plunket and Kelly, Layer having been tried and condemned, the bishop became the object of general attention. In consequence of the report of the committee, a bill was brought into the house of commons, for subjecting him to banishment and deprivation. On receiving a copy of the bill, he wrote a letter to the speaker, requiring to have the affiftance of counsel and solicitors in making his defence, which was granted. Having obtained this indulgence, he laid before the house of lords, a petition, stating that, by an order of their house, no lord might appear by counsel before the house of commons, that he was under great difficulties how to act, and requesting their directions. It was accordingly moved, "That the bishop being a lord of parliament, ought not to answer, or make his defence by counsel, or otherwife, in the house of commons, to a bill there de-

9th.

pending." This motion produced an argument of Chapter 23. fome length, which was terminated by the obser- 1722 to 1723. vation of the duke of Wharton, "That the bishop having already applied to the house of commons, in a letter to their speaker, for counsel, it was preposterous now for him to pray the lords not to give him leave to be heard before the commons, which was the drift of his petition." And upon a fecond question, leave was given for him to be heard by his counfel, or otherwife, as he might think proper. Left thus to his own difcretion, on the 4th April. day he was expected to have made his defence, he fent a letter to the fpeaker, flating, " That he should decline giving that house any trouble. contenting himself with the opportunity, if the bill went on, of making his defence before another, of which he had the honour to be a member." The bill having paffed the commons, was fent up to the lords, and on the 6th of May, he was brought to the bar to make his defence; he made a long and artful speech himself, and his counsel, Sir Constantine Phipps and Mr. Wynne, displayed great zeal and ability; but the bill finally 27th May. paffed the lords, and received the royal affent \*.

The conspiracy in which Atterbury was concerned, and for which he was exiled, has shared the fate of many other plots which have not been carried into execution. It was at the time credited by one party, and disbelieved by the other; and even subsequent writers have, according to their

principles,

<sup>\*</sup> Journals.—State Trials.—Chandler.—Lords' Debates.—Tindal, Speaker Onflow on Opposition, Correspondence, Period IV.

Period III. 1720 to 1727.

principles, confidered it as real or pretended. The public opinion of the minister is sufficiently known from the active part which he took in discovering and counteracting the conspiracy, and his private opinion is detailed in a confidential letter which he wrote to his brother Horace, then envoy at the Hague; about three months before Atterbury was arrested \*.

It would be needless as well as tedious to canvass the principal arguments for or against bishop Atterbury. It will be sufficient to observe that the proofs of his guilt, though not derived from positive, but from circumstantial and presumptive evidence, were as strong as the nature of the case would admit; considering the early period at which the plot was discovered, and the great art and talents of the culprit, they were such as to stamp on the impartial mind, the most indelible conviction. It was indeed a strong proof of the lenity of government, that a bill of attainder was not brought in against him, and that he was only punished with deprivation and banishment.

His popularity.

The commitment of the bishop of Rochester to the Tower, had occasioned great clamours. Under pretence of his being afflicted with the gout, he was publicly prayed + for in most of the churches of London and Westminster, and a print of him was circulated, in which he was represented looking through the grate of a prison, and holding in his hand a portrait of archbishop Laud, with some

<sup>\*</sup> May 29th, 1722, Correspondence, Period III.

<sup>†</sup> Political State, vol. 4. p. 21.

verses, commiserating his situation, and calling Chapter 23.
him

"Whose christian courage nothing fears but God."

It was also apprehended, that his removal on board the ship which was to convey him into banishment, would have been the signal of insurrection, but no tumults took place. Walpole, in a letter to Townshend, dated Whitehall, June 20, 1723, thus speaks of his embarkation;

"The late bishop of Rochester went away on Tuesday. The croud that attended him before his embarkation was not more than was expected; but great numbers of boats attended him to the ship's side. Nothing very extraordinary, but the duke of Wharton's behaviour, who went on board the vessel with him; and a free conversation betwixt his holiness and Williamson\*: with menaces of a day of vengeance."

Many reports have been circulated concerning the feverity with which Atterbury was treated in the Tower; but upon a candid examination of the facts alledged by the bishop and his friends, we have no reason to imagine that he underwent more rigour than a state prisoner accused of a treasonable conspiracy usually meets with. The following instance of lenity is not generally known. He was arrested in August 1722: The articles of impeachment were brought into the house the 23d of March 1723, passed the house of commons on the 9th of

<sup>#</sup> Governor of the Tower.

April; he spoke in his own defence on the 6th of 1720 to 1727. May, and on the 27th, the king gave his royal affent to the bill of pains and penalties. During the interval between his impeachment and condemnation, feveral chapters were permitted to be held, under his auspices as dean of Westminster. and the fubdean was allowed to act as his proxy. During the month of May, not less than eight chapters were held for figning leafes, and on the 31st, it was agreed, "That the lease of the manor of Pensham be now sealed and lie in the chapter clerk's hands as an escrole, till the bills he has sent up for the fines are due and paid, this being the last chapter likely to be held till another dean be made, and that the prefent dean have his proportion of the fine \*." This unufual mode of proceeding, by which a very confiderable fine was, before payment, referved for Atterbury, was entirely owing to the connivance, if not to the interference of government, for it is a well known fact, that the bishop of Rochester had offended the chapter by his overbearing behaviour.

Highly efteemed by Pope,

Atterbury received the tribute of applause from the first poets of his time: Swift, Pope, and Gay have not omitted to pay high encomiums to his talents and learning. Gay observes, in his Epistle to Pope,

- " See Rochester approving nods his head,
- " And ranks one modern with the mighty dead."

<sup>\*</sup> I am indebted for the communication of these particulars, taken from the Chapter Books, to a friend who is a prebendary of West-minster.

Pope, in his Epilogue to the Satires, describes Chapter 23. his unshaken firmness and refignation in the hour 1722 to 1723 of prosecution:

" How pleafing Atterbury's fofter hour;

" How shines his foul unconquered in the Tower."

Pope and Swift maintained a conftant correspondence with him during his exile, and always expressed the highest sentiments of veneration and respect for his character. Pope, in particular, almost idolised his banished friend, and was fully convinced of his honour and integrity, and that he was of a mind too noble to be led by the spirit of vengeance to cabal against his country.

How ignorant Pope was of his real character, and how much Atterbury belied his admirable portrait of a good and wife man in exile \*, neither acting from a principle of refentment, or impelled by revenge, was proved by his subsequent conduct. He had no sooner landed on the Continent, than he threw himself into the service of the Pretender and became the principal agent of his affairs, first at Brussels, and afterwards in France.

The advocates of Atterbury have in vain endeayoured to deny or palliate this fact; and to impress a belief that he never attempted to excite a rebellion in England; and that for the purpose of avoiding solicitations from the Jacobites, he quitted Paris, and went to Montpellier in 1728, where he' resided above two years : but the contrary is

<sup>\*</sup> Letter from Pope to Atterbury, Pope's Works, vol 5. p. 354.

† Miscellaneous Works of Bishop Atterbury, by John Nichols.

Period III.

proved from the most unquestionable evidence, 1720 to 1727 from his private correspondence with the rebels in Scotland, in 1725, published by Sir David Dalrymple; from the repeated accounts transmitted by Horace Walpole, during his embaffy at Paris; from the information of spies, who discovered his cabals, and from the correspondence between him and his fon-in-law Mr. Morice, of which extracts are given in the fecond volume. It appears alfo, from his own account\*, that he quitted the management of the Pretender's affairs in 1728, from difgust, and not from principle.

Cabal with the Pacobites.

In fact, Atterbury was of too aspiring a temper to act a secondary part: he expected to have been the principal manager of the cabals in France, and to have been employed in carrying on the correspondence with the disaffected in England. But on finding that lord Mar and Dillon were more trufted than himself, he endeavoured to undermine their influence. With this view he entered into cabals with Murray and Hay, whose wife was the Pretender's miftrefs, and the cause that his confort, the princess Maria Clementina, had retired into a convent, and publicly demanded a feparation. Although Atterbury was scandalised at the Pretender's inconsistent conduct, and difgusted with the influence of Hay, yet he meanly condescended to join intrigues with him and Murray, justified the Pretender, reviled his confort.

<sup>\*</sup> Letter from Bishop Atterbury to Mr. Morice, Epistolary Correspondence, vol. 4. p. 161.

and predicted that the would repent of her indif- Chapter 23. cretion when her husband was restored to the 1722 to 1723. throne of his ancestors, which event his sanguine expectation again led him to confider as not far distant. He had no sooner succeeded in destroying the influence of Mar and Dillon, than he became jealous of Hay and Murray, reviled the Pretender, justified his confort, and retired from Paris, expressing a conviction that the follies and vices of his attainted fovereign excluded all hopes of effectually ferving him. During his residence at Montpellier, he affected a love of retirement, and. a fondness for the calm pleasures of a country life: but in the midst of these philosophical reveries he did not relinquish his cabals for supplanting Hay and Murray, and after a year's continuance at Montpellier, returned to Paris for the purpose of completing his scheme \*.

At this period his conduct was remarkable for duplicity: for while he feemed absorbed in projects for obtaining the afcendancy in the court of the Pretender, he was looking forwards to England with fond expectations of an act of grace. Soon after his return to Paris, he held frequent conferences in the Bois de Boulogne, with the duchess of Buckingham, natural daughter of James the Second, for the oftenfible purpose of giving her advice concerning the education of her fon. The real object of these conferences was not discovered until her arrival at Rome, when she prevailed on

<sup>\*</sup> Secret Intelligence from Paris; Orford and Walpole Papere.

Period III. her brother to remove Hay and Murray, and in-1720 to 1727. vest Atterbury with the principal management of his affairs in France. His fanguine expectations foon led him to anticipate the fall of Sir Robert Walpole, whom he always confidered as the greatest support of the reigning family; and whose disgrace, he thought, would be followed by the afcendancy of the Jacobite party in England, and the restoration of the Stuarts \*.

exue;

His conduct in Notwithstanding his boasted philosophy. Atterbury passed his time in exile, in a manner which reflects no credit on the firmness of his mind, or the purity of his principles. The restlessness of his temper, his aspiring ambition, his constant cabals, his anxious defire to return, the narrowness. of his income, compared with his former opulence, and the continual defection of his partizans in England, preyed upon a mind like his, fed with hopes which were conftantly disappointed, and ftung with refentment which could not be gratified. His fituation was embittered by the ill conduct of his fon, and by the death of his beloved daughter Mrs. Morice, who expired in his arms, and of which fad event he has given a pathetic account in a letter to Pope. He died at Paris, on the 15th of February 1731, in the 70th year of. his age.

and death.

Steadiness to the Protestant religion.

One fact highly honourable to him, ought not to be omitted; he remained, at all times, true to the Protestant religion, and regular in the perform-

<sup>\*</sup> Secret Intelligence from Paris; Orford and Walpole Papers,

ance of its duties. He reprobated with warmth, Chapter 23. the conduct of the duke of Wharton, lord North and Grey, and others, who had facrificed their religion with a view to obtain the Pretender's favour; he even quarrelled with the duke of Berwick, who proposed giving a Catholic preceptor to the young duke of Buckingham, and used his influence over the duches, to place none but Protestants about the person of her son.

A short time before his death, Atterbury was His papers des alarmed, lest his papers should fall into the hands scots College. of government, and that their contents should endanger some of his correspondents. Several of the most fecret he destroyed, and with a view to fecure the remainder, he applied to the English embaffador, lord Waldegrave, to affix his feal on them, that they might be delivered to his executors \*. But lord Waldegrave declined this delicate exertion of his diplomatic privilege, alledging that Atterbury was not intitled to the rights of a British subject. His motives for this refusal were derived from an unwillingness to place himself in the embarrassing situation of receiving orders from his own court, to deliver up the confidential deposit of an exile. Atterbury then applied to the French government, but some difficulties arifing, he withdrew his folicitation, and died before he had made an effectual arrangement. On his death, John Sample, a fpy in the pay of government, who lived in habits of intimacy with the

B 2.

<sup>\*</sup> Correspondence, Period III. Article Atterbury.

Period III. bishop, endeavoured to obtain possession of the 1720 to 1727 papers, for the oftensible purpose of sending them to the Pretender; but the friends of the deceased interposed; the papers were fent to the Scots College, and the feal of office affixed. Morice, his fon-in-law and executor, obtained all those which related to family affairs, and the remainder were left in the college. On his return to England, his papers were feized, and Morice was examined before the privy counsel. Several of these documents, with the marks of office, are preserved among the Orford papers; they contain part of the correspondence between the bishop and his fon-in-law, feveral miscellaneous articles in Atterbury's hand-writing, and fome letters from William Shippen, relating to the character of Hampden, in Clarendon's Hiftory, which Oldmixon accused Atterbury, bishop Smalridge and Dr. Aldrich, of having interpolated, to which accufation the bishop published a satisfactory answer \*. From these papers a felection of the most curious articles is given in the Correspondence.

Buried in Westminster Abbey.

The bishop's body was conveyed to England, for the purpose of being interred in Westminster Abbey. On its way the hearfe was stopped, and his coffin opened, which occasioned a great outcry against the ministers, as if their vengeance continued to purfue him even after death; but it foon appeared that this indignity proceeded from the custom-house officers, who had information that a

<sup>&</sup>quot;The bishop's Vindication is printed in Atterbury's Epistolary Correspondence, by Nichols, vol. 2.

confiderable quantity of brocades, and other pro- Chapter 23. hibited goods, was concealed in the coffin. This 1722 to 1723. fearch being effected, the hearfe was fuffered to proceed without moleftation, and the body, after fome difficulty, was buried in Westminster Abbev.

Soon after the suspension of the habeas corpus Tax on Roact, Walpole introduced a bill for raising f. 100,000, man Catholics, by laying a tax on the estates of Papists, which was afterwards extended to all Non-jurors. The liberal spirit of the present age, condemns a meafure which tended to increase the disaffection of a large body of subjects, and which the arguments advanced by the minister in its favour were calculated only to palliate, but could not justify. For on being urged by feveral members, and particularly by Onflow, who declared his abhorrence of persecuting any set of men because of their religious opinions, Walpole represented "the great dangers incurred by this nation fince the reformation, from the constant endeavours of Papists to fubvert our happy conftitution and the Protestant religion, by the most cruel, violent, and unjustifiable methods; that he would not take upon him to charge any particular person among them, with being concerned in this horrid conspiracy; That it was notorious that many of them had been engaged in the Preston rebellion, and some were executed for it; and the present plot was contrived at Rome, and countenanced in popish countries; that many of the Papists were not only wellwishers to it, but had contributed large sums for so nefarious VOL. I.

1722.

Périod III. 1720 to 1727.

nefarious a purpose, and therefore he thought it but reasonable they should bear an extraordinary share of the expences to which they had subjected the nation \*." Whatever opinions may be formed of this measure, according to the strict rules of theoretical justice, the policy was unquestionable. This instance of rigour effectually discouraged the Papists from continuing their attempts against the government, and operated as a constant check on the turbulent spirit of the Non-jurors.

### CHAPTER THE TWENTY-FOURTH:

## 1723-1724.

Walpole's Son made a Peer.—Character, Views, and Intrigues of Carteret.—Struggle in the Cabinet for Pre eminence.—Contest for continuing or removing Sir Luke Schaub.—Mission of Horace Walpole to Paris.—Death of the Duke of Orleans.—Successful Efforts of Townsbend and Walpole.—Schaub recalled, Horace Walpole nominated Embassador.—Change in the ministry; Carteret appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.—Unanimity in Parliament.—Walpole made Knight of the Bath and Garter.

June 10. Walpole declines a peerage. In this year the king rewarded the services of Walpole, by creating his son a peer. Hitherto it had been customary for those who were intrusted with the chief direction of affairs, to be placed in the house of lords; and the same distinction had been offered by the king to him; but conscious that his talents were best calculated for the house

of commons, and that his consequence would foon Chapter 24. decline if he was called to the upper house, he 1723 to 1724. waved the dignity for himself, but accepted it for his fon, who was created baron Walpole, of Walpole, in the county of Norfolk. The patent takes His fon creatnotice of this circumstance in a manner highly ed a baron, honourable to the minister: " Our most beloved and most faithful counsellor, Robert Walpole, first commissioner of the treasury, with the assistance of other felect persons, and chancellor of our exchequer, having highly recommended himself to our royal favour, by his many fervices to us, to our house, and to his own country, we did not think him unworthy to be advanced to the rank of the peers of this realm; but though he rather chuses to merit the highest titles than to wear them, we have however thought fit, in order to ennoble his family, to confer on the fon the honour due to the father, and to raise to the peerage Robert Walpole, junior, esquire, &c \*."

The deaths of Stanhope and Sunderland feemed to remove all obstacles to the power of Townshend and Walpole, who now became the great leaders of the Whigs, and being strictly united both in blood and interest, concentered in themselves the favour of the crown, and the confidence of their party. Yet notwithstanding these auspicious appearances, their authority was by no means established on a firm foundation; for besides the opposition, they had to struggle against lord Carte-

<sup>\*</sup> Tindal; vol. 19. p. 494.

Period III. ret, who covered, under the appearance of devo-1720 to 1727. tion and friendship, inimical designs, and united great talents with the most aspiring ambition:

Character and views of Carteret.

John lord Carteret, was fon of George lord Carteret, by lady Grace, daughter of John, the last earl of Bath, of the line of Granville. He was born in 1690, and fucceeded his father in the title when he was only in the fifth year of his age; he was educated at Westminster school, and removed from thence to Christ Church College Oxford. He made fuch an extraordinary progress in his classical studies as induced Swift to reproach him, in his humorous stile of panegyric, with having carried away from Oxford, more Greek, Latin, and philosophy than became a person of his rank \*. To classical erudition he united a knowledge of the modern languages, and every species of polite literature. He had no fooner taken his feat in the house of peers, than he distinguished himself by an ardent zeal for the Protestant succession, and on the accession of George the First was appointed lord of the bed-chamber.

On the schism of the Whig ministry, in 1717, he attached himfelf to Sunderland; was appointed, in 1719, embaffador extraordinary at Stockholm, concluded the peace between Sweden, Hanover, and Prussia, which finally annexed Bremen and Verden to the electorate of Hanover; and mediated a reconciliation between Sweden and Denmark. Soon after his return to England, he

<sup>\*</sup> Vindication of Lord Carteret, from the charge of favouring none but Tories, Swift's Works, vol. 10. p. 334.

was promoted, on the death of Craggs, to the post Chapter 24. of fecretary of state for the Southern department, 1723 to 1724 and divided in the cabinet with Sunderland, to whom he owed his elevation, against Townshend and Walpole. He was esteemed one of the most eminent speakers in the house of lords, for dignity of manner, propriety of elocution, and force of argument, although his diction was often cenfured as too florid and metaphorical. He acquired great favour with the king, by his capacity for business and indefatigable application; by his perfect knowledge of foreign affairs; by the facility with which he converted in French, Italian, and Spanish, and by an acquaintance with the German, which he studied with a view to ingratiate himfelf still farther with his fovereign.

On the death of Sunderland, he feems to have His influence hesitated whether he should form, in conjunction with du Rois, with Cadogan and Carleton, a party separate from that of Townshend and Walpole, or coalesce with those ministers. He was more particularly useful at this juncture, because he had succeeded to the influence which earl Stanhope possessed in the cabinet of Versailles, by means of du Bois, who was gratisted with a large pension, and who had been raised, by the artful management of the earl of Stair, to the office of minister for foreign affairs. Du Bois was no sooner nominated to this post, than he contrived to appropriate to himself the management of the most secret transactions. All affairs of importance passed through his hands

alone;

the First !.

Period III. alone; and the members of the respective coun1720 to 1727 cils were dismissed \*. Stair, who had conducted
the negotiations at Paris with great address,
having quarrelled with Law, who then directed
the affairs of finance, and in conjunction with
du Bois governed the regent, Stanhope himself
repaired to Paris, and arranged in person with
the regent and du Bois, the plan of future intercourse and correspondence. Stair was recalled, and
succeeded by Sir Robert Sutton \*. The failure
of the Mississippi scheme, which reduced France to
a state of bankruptcy, and the disgrace of Law,
increased the ascendancy of du Bois, and his no-

On the death of earl Stanhope, du Bois was under great alarm, left the new ministers should not treat him with the same considence; and was fully aware that his credit with the regent would cease, if the good understanding which had been recently maintained between England and France should be diminished. He was, however, soon undeceived; lord Townshend, the new secretary of state, expressed his resolution in a letter \( \xi \) to du Bois, of maintaining the friendship between the two kingdoms, and paid particular compliments to him, as the person who had first promoted and

mination to the archbithopric of Cambray, was furthered by the express interposition of George

Memoires de Du'Clos, tom. r. p. 408.

<sup>+</sup> Hardwicke State Papers, vol. 2. passim.

<sup>#</sup> Du Clos.

S Townshend Papers.

concluded the alliance, which had been fo highly Chapter 24.
beneficial to both parties.

Chapter 24.

On the death of Craggs, and the removal of Sends Sir Sunderland, the apprehensions of du Bois were to Paris. again revived and increased by the reports of disunion in the British cabinet, and by exaggerated accounts of the desperate state of affairs in England, from the failure of the South Sea scheme; the regent also experienced the ill effects of these rumours, from the violent opposition made to his measures by the parliament of Paris, in conjunction with those who considered the alliance with England as no less dishonourable than detrimental. For the purpose of removing these alarms, Sir Like Schaub was deputed to Paris by Carteret. Schaub was a native of Bafil, and became the confidential fecretary of earl Stanhope, through whom his first correspondence and connections with du Bois were principally conducted. On the reconciliation with Spain, in 1719, he was fent to Madrid, where he remained till the arrival of William Stanhope, afterwards earl of Harrington. Soon after his return to England, he repaired to Hanover. and was employed by earl Stanhope in keeping up the harmony \* between the two courts, and difpelling the doubts and fuspicions which occasionally prevailed on both fides. On the death of Stanhope, he was confidered by Carteret as the fittest person to repair to Paris.

<sup>\*</sup> Correspondence between Lord Carteret and Sir Luke Schaub, Hardwicke Papers, May 1722.

Period III. The arrival of Schaub gave great satisfaction to du Bois, who placed no reliance on Sir Robert Sutton; and who expressed a conviction, that he should not long maintain his credit with the regent, if the confidence which that prince had his therto reposed on the king of England should be destroyed. Schaub easily convinced the regent of the king's steadiness to his former engagements, and thus supported the authority of du Bois. Sutton was soon afterwards recalled, Schaub solely managed the affairs of England, and his influence increased, as du Bois was successively created, by the interposition of England, cardinal and prime minister. During these transactions, Schaub be-

communicated to the British cabinet.

Du Bois transferred his devotion to Carteret, as the minister who was supported by Sunderland, and who boasted that he had succeeded to the influence as well as to the principles of Stanhope: Schaub described him as the person who principally directed foreign affairs; and the friendship of du Bois, whose good-will at this period was highly prized, increased the consequence and promoted the interest of Carteret.

came the channel through whom the cabals of the Jacobites, and the intrigues of Atterbury were

On the death of Sunderland, du Bois offered, through Schaub, to use his interest with George the First in favour of Carteret, but strongly advised him to coalesce with Townshend and Walpole, because he would on one side find it difficult to place himself at the head of the Whigs, and on

the other, it would be dangerous to throw the Chapter 24. king into the arms of the Tories \*. In reply to 1723 to 1724. these offers of affishance, Carteret expressed his gratitude to the cardinal, and informed Schaub, that he had previously resolved to act in that manner, as well with a view to promote the king's service as his own particular interest. He boasted, that he was sufficiently strong to have no apprehensions but those which arise from the common danger to which ministers are subject; he added, that his principles would never change, and intreated him to convince the cardinal, that were he not fully persuaded of the good intentions of his colleagues, he would not continue long united with them \*.

Notwithstanding these professions, Carteret never Carteret forms a divisor cordially coalesced with Townshend and Walpole; sion in the he considered himself as succeeding to the interests cabinet, of Sunderland and Stanhope, expressed, in his letters and conversation, the profoundest veneration for their memory, headed the remnant of their party in the British cabinet, and caballed with the leaders of the Tories, whom he considently assured of success, by declaring that he was supported by those who governed the king. He was led to make this declaration, which he implicitly believed, because he had secured the concurrence of Bothmar and Bernsdorf, and had gained the counters of Darlington, and her sister-in-law, the counters of Platen, whose influence in the Ha-

<sup>\*</sup> Correspondence between Lord Carteret and Sir Luke Schaub, Hardwicke Papers, May 1722.

<sup>†</sup> May 4, 1722. Hardwicke Papers.

Promotes the views of the counters of Platen.

Period III. noverian councils he confidered as predominant, 1720 to 1727. With a view of effecting his purpose, he adopted a propofal, made by Schaub, of a marriage between Amalia, daughter of the countess of Platen, and the count de St. Florentin, fon of the marquis de la Vrilliere, secretary of state, which was arranged under the condition, that George the First should obtain from the duke of Orleans. through the means of cardinal du Bois, a dukedom for the family of la Vrilliere. The king eagerly favoured the scheme, and likewise commisfioned Schaub to use his name, provided he was secure that the request would not be rejected, and that du Bois could facilitate the grant of the dukedom, without offending those families who aspired to the fame honour.

> Having thus obtained the concurrence of the king, Carteret entertained the most sanguine expectations, that the management of this fecret transaction, confined to him and Schaub, would increase his influence in the cabinet; yet as it was foon known to many perfons, he was alarmed left fome rumours should be circulated, and he communicated a part of the business to lord Townshend, but contrived to retain the negotiation entirely in his own hands. With that view he defired Schaub to confine the confidential account to his private correspondence, and in his oftenfible letters, to touch upon that affair only in general terms, and to do it in fuch a manner and with fuch a naiveté as should make it appear as if he had not received any particular order on that fubject. 1 2

fubject\*. These private communications were Chapter 24. constantly shewn to the king, who expressed his 1723 to 1724. fatisfaction in the highest terms of approbation.

Carteret also drew from the aspect of northern Promotes viaffairs, high expectations of increasing his influ-sures against ence, by somenting the king's resentment against Russia. Russia, by slattering his inclination to interfere in the affairs of Sweden, and by savouring the opinions of those Hanoverian ministers, whose advice appeared to him to have weight in the councils of the German cabinet.

Since the treaty of Nystadt, which restored peace to the North, the only subject of alarm, on the fide of Hanover, was derived from the support which the Czar gave to the duke of Holftein, both in his attempts to obtain the crown of Sweden, and to recover the duchy of Slefwic. Peter, proudly conscious of his strength and resources, and of the formidable marine which he had created in the Baltic, formed the most extensive designs of aggrandifement, and promoted every measure which might embarrass George the First. He had asfumed the title of Emperor, which the European powers refused to acknowledge. He affianced his daughter Anne 4, whom he probably defigned for his fucceffor, to the duke of Holftein, and fent to Copenhagen an embaffador, to require that Slefwic should be restored to the duke of Holstein, and that his subjects, in the provinces conquered from Sweden, should be exempted from the payment of

<sup>\*</sup> May 4, 1722. Hardwicke Papers. † See Travels in Russia, Book 4, chap, 10.

1721-

Period III. the Sound duties. When Frederic the Fourth 1720 to 1727. rejected these demands, Peter fitted out a naval armament, affembled a body of troops on the frontiers of Courland \*; and a new war feemed on the point of being kindled in the North. George the First, who by the treaty of Travendahl, had been constituted a guarantee of Sleswic, was bound to fuccour his ally Frederic; he accordingly concerted the most efficacious means of defence; an English squadron again appeared in the Baltic, and joining the Danish fleet, suspended the operations of Russia, and Peter afterwards turned his views to Sweden, where the weakness of the government, and the fury of contending factions, gave him the fairest prospects of success.

Arrival of the king at Hanever.

Such was the general flate of Carteret's hopes and intrigues, when the king repaired to Hanover. Townshend had not forgotten that his removal, in 1716, had been principally owing to his continuance in England, by which means a full scope was given to the cabals of Sunderland, and the Hanoverian junto. He was unwilling to fall again into the same error, and accompanied the king. Although it was unufual for both fecretaries of state to be absent at the same time, yet Carteret had rendered himself so agreeable, and his presence was thought fo necessary for carrying on the negotiation with Schaub, for the marriage and the dukedom, that he received orders to repair to Hanover, and Walpole was appointed to act as fole

\* Mallet, Hift, de Dannemarg.

fecretary of state in England, during the king's Chapter 24absence. 1723 to 1724.

Soon after their arrival at Hanover, the two fe-struggle becretaries of state made a violent struggle for pre-tween eminence.

Townshend had a difficult and a delicate part to act. He was conscious of Carteret's eminent abilities, and of his high favour with the king; he was not ignorant of his fuccessful intrigues with Bernsdorf and Bothmar, and of having conciliated lady Darlington and the counters of Platen, whose influence he fufficiently appreciated; he was aware that Carteret was eagerly inclined to promote the king's German meafures, and that he would be seconded in all his schemes, by the powerful cooperation of the Hanoverian ministers. He felt Townshend the necessity of employing intrigue against intrigue, duches of and manœuvre against manœuvre; he laboured Kendal. effectually to fecure the duchefs of Kendal, whose ascendancy over the king, fatal experience had demonstrated to be predominant; he fomented the jealoufy which she had long entertained, lest the projected marriage should furnish the countess of Platen with a pretence for going to Paris, and from thence to England, and he fucceeded fo far in gaining her good graces, that he calls her, in his most private letter to Walpole, " the good duchefs, and their fast friend". He also obtained the concurrence of lady Walfingham, who possessed great influence over the duchefs, and no inconfiderable favour with the king. Relying on these supports, he procured the difgrace of Bernsdorf,

Period III. and rendered ineffectual the intrigues of Bothmar, 1720 to 1727. who made an unexpected visit to Hanover with a view of aiding Carteret. He obtained the appointment of Hartenberg to the post of minister of state; broke the union which had hitherto subfifted between him and the duchess of Kendal. and rendered them both subservient to his views. He counteracted Carteret in all his measures, obtained the nomination of feveral places in oppofition to his particular recommendation, and fo triumphantly carried all before him, that he boafted, in a letter to Walpole, of the fuccess of his political campaign at Hanover, which, in stating the difficulty of his fituation, he described as the only place in the world where faction and intrigue are natural and in fashion \*.

The fuperior influence, however, of Townshend and Walpole, was not folely gained by court intrigues, or by the corruption of German favourites, and was not profittuted by a preference of Hanoverian interests to those of England. In the midst of these cabals, the conduct of the brother ministers was firm and manly, moving in direct opposition to the king's prejudices, and the wishes of the German junto. Townshend prevented the adoption of violent measures against Russia, proposed by Bernsdorf and seconded by Carteret, which if purfued, must have involved England in hostilities with the Czar; and he exultingly informed Walpole, that the king continued true to

<sup>·</sup> See Correspondence.

his resolution of figning no paper relating to British Chapter 24. affairs, but in his presence.

1723 to 1724.

The continuance of their authority was also greatly owing to the prosperous state of domestic affairs. The revival of the national credit, and the tranquillity established by the suppression of Atterbury's plot, which reflected great honour on the fagacity and spirit of the ministers, and gave weight and dignity to the councils of England in all parts of Europe, made a deep impression on the mind of the king; and it reflects high honour both on the fovereign of whom it was faid, and on the ministers by whom it was faid, that the only method of preferving their power beyond fear of competition or accident, was to form some falutary plan for the ease of the people and the benefit of trade, which points the king had much at heart \*.

The character and conduct of Walpole, were no Affiled by less instrumental in forwarding the triumph of his Walpole. party. The beneficial confequences refulting from his commercial regulations had been too obvious to escape notice; his genius for financial operations, and the ease with which he obtained parliamentary fupplies, had induced the king to fay that Walpole could create gold out of nothing . But he did not earn this confidence by mean concessions and base flattery; on the contrary, he ventured to contradict the wishes and prejudices of the king, whenever those wishes or prejudices seemed to militate against the true interests of England. An indubi-

<sup>\*</sup> See Correspondence, Period III.

<sup>†</sup> Etough, from Scrope, Correspondence, Period IV.

Period III. table proof of this fact appears from the correspon-1720 to 1727 dence of this year. The king having requested £.200,000 for the purpose of opposing the efforts of the Czar to dethrone the king of Sweden, and place the duke of Holstein on the throne, Townshend strenuoufly exhorted Walpole to procure that fum. In reply, Walpole declared that the f. 200,000 was referved for the king's expences, if he staid at Hanover later than Christmas. He must, therefore, either return to England fooner than he had proposed, or the interference in the Swedish affairs must be relinquished. Walpole at the same time represented his objections to that interference in the strongest terms; explained his own conduct, and the great principle by which he appears to have been uniformly directed, which was to be economical of the public money, but to spare no expence when the fecurity of his country was at stake; to avoid foreign entanglements, not to be precipitate in contracting new engagemenrs; to feel the pulse of the nation before any measure of confequence was adopted, and proceed with due caution. He concluded by observing, that the prosecution of a new war would effectually prevent the adoption of all schemes for the ease of the people and the benefit of trade. The king, fo far from being displeased with this freedom, was convinced by his arguments, adopted his views, and declared his refolution of implicitly following the advice of his British cabinet: He spoke of him in the highest terms of approbation, and when Townshend shewed his anfwer to that letter, and asked whether he had not made

thade too many compliments, observed, that was Chapter 24. impossible, for Walpole never had his equal in bu-1723 to 1724. finess\*.

Notwithstanding, however, these evident proofs of Townshend's and Walpole's ascendency, reports were industriously circulated, that Carteret's power was superior; and these reports coming by rebound from Hanover, were exaggerated in England and France, and had a considerable effect in suppressing the ardour of their adherents, and in giving spirit to the friends of their rival. It became necessary therefore to undeceive the public, and (as Townshend observed, in a letter to Walpole) to obtain some overt act in their favour; it was accordingly determined to attack Carteret in his strong hold of Paris, where he supposed himself invincible.

As the union with France was at this juncture effected highly necessary to preserve the peace of Europe, and the internal tranquillity of England, those ministers who had the highest credit with the court of Versailles, were held in the highest estimation by George the First. Hence it became a matter of great concern for Townshend and Walpole to have their own confidential embassador at Paris, which was now the center of the secret negotiations for all foreign affairs, and by these means to prevent their opponent from preserving his weight in the cabinet, which he principally derived from the supposed credit of his creature, Sir Luke Schaub. It was their interest therefore to obtain

<sup>\*</sup> Correspondence, Period III.

Period III.

his removal, and to substitute some person in whom 1720 to 1727 they could place implicit confidence, and whose appointment should prove to the court of France, and convince both friends and adversaries in England, of their ascendency in the cabinet.

Miffion of Horace Walpole to Paris.

Horace Walpole was felected as the fittest perfon to bring forward on this occasion. He had from his earliest years been trained to business, under Stanhope, in Spain; under Carleton, when chancellor of the exchequur and fecretary of state; under Townshend, at the congress of Gertruydenberg, and during the negotiation for the barrier treaty in 1710. At the accession of George the First, he was appointed secretary to lord Townshend, and afterwards fecretary to the treasury; and, as envoy to the States General, had conducted with great skill and ability the complicated negotiations which took place at the Hague in 1715 and 1716. On the removal of Townshend and Walpole, he had continued invariably attached to them. At the coalition with Sunderland, in 1720, he had been nominated fecretary to the duke of Grafton, then lord lieutenant of Ireland, and in 1721 fecretary to the treasury. He was deputed, in 1722, as envoy to the Hague, which post he now filled with great credit and dignity, and was particularly noticed by George the First as a man of business and address.

As Townshend could not propose the mission of Horace Walpole to Paris, without an open quarrel with Carteret, to whose province, as the fecretary for the fouthern department, that appointment be-

longed,

longed, he took advantage of the death of cardinal Chapter 24. du Bois, which happened at this time, to carry his 1723 to 1724. scheme gradually into execution. He represented to the king, that this event rendered it necessary to fend a confidential person to Paris, for the purpose of gaining authentic information concerning the fituation of affairs, and to afcertain whether Schaub was not at variance with count Noce, who was supposed to govern the duke of Orleans. He named Horace Walpole as proper to be intrusted with fo delicate an affair, and fuggefted, that he might affect to take Paris in his way to Hanover, from a motive of mere curiofity\*.

Having succeeded in this point, Townshend suggested that letters credential, under the pretence of fending a full power to accept the accession of the king of Portugal to the quadruple alliance, would facilitate the execution of the commission. The king approved this hint, and proposed it as his own thought to Carteret, who though confounded at this mortification, could not venture to make any objection +.

Under these circumstances, Horace Walpole Contest bearrived at Paris on the 19th of October, and on the Walpole and 1st of November, wrote so masterly a dispatch t, Schaub, describing the situation of the court of France, the characters of the duke of Orleans, and of the principal ministers, as charmed the king, delighted his

<sup>\*</sup> See Lord Townshend's Letters in September and October. Correspondence, 1723.

<sup>+</sup> Ibid.

<sup>1</sup> Walpole Papers.

friends, and gave a fure omen of the victory which 1720 to 1727. he was to obtain over Schaub, and confequently of that which his brother and Townshend would gain over Carteret. He particularly dwelt on Nocé's aversion to Schaub, on his refusal to listen to any overtures of reconciliation, and on the influence which he possessed over the duke of Orleans; circumstances artfully displayed to prove the necessity of appointing an envoy who might fecure the good will of Nocé. Before the arrival of this dispatch at Hanover, Schaub had written, that the duke of Orleans was inclined to gratify the king, in conferring a dukedom on the family of la Vrilliere, and forwarded copies of letters which he had concerted with Morville, and which the king was to fend to Louis the Fifteenth, and the duke of Orleans, pressing them in the strongest manner to comply with that request. Carteret, in a transport of joy, informed Schaub, that the king had approved the letters, and had transcribed that to Louis the Fifteenth with his own hand. He warned him however, not to deliver them, unless he was fure of fuccess, and entreated him to forward the answer from the king of France as foon as possible. At the same time Townshend himself informed Walpole, that the affair of the dukedom was concluded, and that the marriage would foon take place: He added, that the duchels of Kendall already began to be jealous of the counters of Platen, and hinted that through her influence, it might be practicable to establish Horace Walpole as embassador at the court of France. The accounts, however, transmitted

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mitted by Horace Walpole, were of a very different Chapter 24. complexion. He maintained unequivocally, that 1723 to 1724. Schaub was totally mistaken, and had promised more than he could effect. His dispatches and private letters were filled with representations of Schaub's petulant and indifcreet behaviour, in pressing the grant; of the violent opposition made by the principal nobles, of their bitter and farcastic reproaches against the interference of a British minister, or rather as they termed him, no minister, to obtain a dukedom for a family which was not entitled to such a distinction. He stated that Morville, tauntingly alluding to Schaub as a foreigner, faid that he was happy to transact business with one who was a true Englishman. He detailed a secret and confidential conversation which he had with the duke of Orleans, who after observing that he had requested to see him, for the purpose of conversing frankly on an affair of great importance; plainly indicated that he could give no credit to the representations of Schaub, whose zeal in this whole business, had originated from his attachment to Madame de la Vrilliere, with whom he was engaged in a love intrigue. The duke then mentioned the impropriety of granting a dukedom to that family; observed that the king was not fully apprifed of the difficulties attending it; and requested Horace Walpole to write to lord Townshend for authentic information concerning his majesty's real fentiments.

The day after this audience, the duke of Orleans Death of the duke of Ordied, and the duke of Bourbon was appointed leans.

Period III. prime minister. Schaub paid court to, and was 1720 to 1727. well received by Madame de Prie, mistress of the duke of Bourbon, who favoured the grant from interested motives; and he wrote to Carteret the most exaggerated accounts of his influence over the new prime minister, and of his certain success in the affair of the dukedom, Carteret again believed these favourable accounts; and was again deceived.

> Horace Walpole acted with great dignity and judgment. He paid no fervile attention to Madame de Prie, from a conviction that it was not necessary; behaved with deference to the duke of Bourbon, but privately courted the bishop of Frejus, afterwards cardinal Fleury, whose interest with the young king of France, he saw and appreciated, and whose confidence he gained by his prudent conduct. Although the new prime minister, from a desire of gratifying Madame de Prie, who wished to establish a precedent in favour of her husband's claims to a dukedom, was more inclined to forward the grant than his predeceffor, yet the loud clamours of the nobility, and the decided aversion of Louis the Fifteenth to the measure, convinced him of its impracticability. Schaub was either ignorant of this circumstance, or affected to be so. Anxious to carry a point, on the fuccess of which Carteret's ascendency in the cabinet, and his own continuance at Paris feemed ultimately to depend, and eager to gratify Madame de la Vrilliere, he pressed the duke of Bourbon, with his usual indiscretion, remonstrated against the delay as infulting

fulting to the king of England, and endeavoured Chapter 24. to involve it in fuch a manner with public tranf- 1723 to 1724. actions as to make it a state affair.

The duke of Bourbon, embarraffed with thefe folicitations, now applied to Horace Walpole in the fame manner as his predecessior had done. He observed that the difficulties were insuperable, gave a true state of the affair as it related to his own fituation, and the French king's fentiments upon it; declared that the king, as well as the late duke of Orleans, had been deceived and imposed upon, and concluded with fome expressions of refentment and contempt at Schaub's conduct and importunity\*.

Horace Walpole received private inftructions Prudent confrom lord Townshend and his brother to proceed dust of Horace Walpole. with great caution, and to act in fuch a manner as not to difgust the French cabinet, by pressing so difagreeable a request, and yet not to offend the king by appearing as if he was opposing his wishes. He followed these instructions with confummate address; and the accounts of his proceedings, which were shewn to the king, increased the good opinion already entertained of his talents for negotiation, proved the influence he was rapidly acquiring in the cabinet of Versailles, and tended to diminish the credit of Carteret and Schaub. The king, on his return to England, convinced that he had been deceived by Schaub, and that the obstacles to the grant were insuperable, reluctantly withdrew his

folicitation.

<sup>\*</sup> Horace Walpole to Lord Townshend, March 7, 1724. Walpole Papers.

1720 to 1727.

Period III. folicitation. Carteret had the unwelcome task of commanding Schaub not to press the affair any farther, and of inclosing a letter \* from the king to the duke of Bourbon, declaring that it never was his intention to make the dukedom a state affair, and declining to infift on a request which was disagreeable to the king of France and the prime minister. Carteret, however, was still so convinced of his fuperior favour, that he either disbelieved, or affected to disbelieve the reports of his declining influence. He filled his letters to Schaub with repeated declarations, that the king approved their conduct; exhorted him to be perfectly tranquil, and to bear all mortifications, until the affair of the dukedom should be finished; expressed his full conviction that they should maintain their ground, and that his own authority was ftronger than ever; yet at the very time his own fall and the removal of Schaub were evident, from the appointment of Horace Walpole to be envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the court of Verfailles. The additional honour thus conferred increafed the jealoufy of Schaub, who found all the affurances of his patron belied, and himself in danger of being recalled from Paris. But even this mortification did not induce Carteret to acknowledge the fuperiority of his rivals; he still gave Schaub the strongest affurances of support from the king; advised him to attach himself to the duke of Bourbon and Madame de Prie; he declared, that

<sup>\*</sup> Walpole Papers, January 26, 1724.

the king was fecretly inclined in his favour, but Chapter 24. that he did not love disputes, and was unwilling 1723 to 1724. to require such explanations as would force him to take a decided part. He observed, that the answer to the duke of Bourbon could by no means be interpreted, as if the king abandoned his request of the dukedom, although he did not desire that it might be considered as a public affair.

Carteret perhaps had fufficient reason to be secure of his victory, as well because he was personally a favorite with the king, as because he was joined by a formidable combination of men who possessed great weight and consequence. Amorgst Character of the members of the cabinet who acted with him, Cadogan, was William earl of Cadogan, who lad concentred in himself the posts of commander in chief, and mafter of the ordnance, and who was supported by the friends and adherents of his deceafed patron, John duke of Marlborough, particularly by the duchefs, whose enormous wealth enabled her occafionally to forward or obstruct the public loans, and who was highly offended with Walpole, for prefurning to raile money at a less interest than she had required. Cadogan was frank, open, vehement, impatient of contradiction, and inclined, in case of difficulties, rather to cut the gordian knot with his fword, than attempt by patience to unravel its intricacy. He was in high favour with the king for his knowledge of foreign languages, his acquaintance with foreign manners, and for an eafe and address which was partly derived from an early intercourse with the world, and partly from

Period III. an intermixture of military and civil occupations. 1720 to 1727. At this crissis, Cadogan had rendered himself so obnoxious to Walpole, that it was determined to open the political campaign with his difmission, which was to be a prelude to other changes. The post of commander in chief had been promised to lord Cobham, and the mastership of the ordnance to the duke of Argyle; but the king gave a decided negative to this propofal, by declaring that he would not part with Cadogan. As this attack was made at the opening of the fession, when the predominant influence of Walpole in the house of commons, seemed to countenance an opinion, that his demands must be complied with; this repulse was considered by the friends of Carteret and Cadogan, as the fure omen of his downfal.

Efforts of Carteret.

In the midst of these divisions in the cabinet, the affairs in Ireland, relating to Wood's patent. gave Carteret an opportunity of impressing the king with unfavourable fentiments of Walpole, to whose misconduct he principally imputed these disturbances. He fomented the discontents in Ireland, and caballed with the Brodricks, who were incenfed against the duke of Grafton, lord lieutenant, for ascribing the opposition folely to the fecret manœuvres of lord chancellor Midleton, and for infifting, that either he should be deprived of the feals, or should not be appointed one of the lords justices \*. Their discontent was no less ve-

<sup>\*</sup> See Chapter 26th on the Disturbances in Ireland.

hement against Walpole, who supported the duke Chapter 24. of Grafton; and Carteret increased their conse- 1723 to 1724. quence, by enumerating to the king the fervices which the family had performed in favour of his fuccession, by exaggerating their influence in Ireland, and by dwelling on the ill confequences which would refult from depriving lord Midleton of the feals, Thefe commotions, although finally quelled by the prudence and ability of Walpole, yet gave great embarrasiment to his administration, and delayed the removal of Carteret.

Walpole baffled his adversaries with the same Baffled by arts which they endeavoured to employ against Walpole. him. Bolingbroke had betrayed to him the intrigues of Carteret with the Tories, and had made offers from some of their leaders to join administration; although Walpole rejected these overtures, and declined a general coalition with them, yet he detached feveral from the party, and amused others. He gained a great accession of strength by fecuring lord Harcourt, whom he introduced into the privy council, gratified with an increase of his pension, and for whom he obtained the appointment of one of the lords justices during the king's absence. By these means the leaders of the difaffected party were allured with hopes of fimilar honours and emoluments, if they would follow the fame example; and highly diffatisfied with Carteret, made little opposition to the meafures of government; flattering themselves that his removal would be foon followed by their introduction into power. To these expectations may

Period III. be partly attributed the extreme tranquillity which 1720 to 1727 distinguished the next session of parliament.

Parliamentary proceedings.

While this struggle for power was carrying on in the interior of the cabinet, public affairs were conducted with unexampled prosperity and quiet. The parliament met on the 9th of January; the fpeech from the throne concluded with dignified expressions of the connection between the liberty and prosperity of the nation. "In the present happy fituation of our affairs, I have nothing more to recommend to you, than that you would make use of the opportunity, which your own good conduct has put into your hands, in confidering of fuch farther laws as may be wanting for the ease and encouragement of trade and navigation, for the employment of the poor, and for exciting and encouraging a spirit of industry in the nation. I am fully fatisfied, that the trade and wealth of my people, are the happy effects of the liberties they enjoy, and that the grandeur of the crown confifts in their prosperity."

The address passed not only without a single dissenting voice, but even without a debate; and during the whole session the only motion that occasioned a division, was one for keeping up the same number of troops for 1724, as was maintained the year before, which was carried by a majority of 240 against 100. On the 24th of April, this session, so tranquil in effect, and so barren of incidents, was closed by a speech which commended in high terms of approbation, the unanimity, cheerfulness, and dispatch with which the busi-

ness had been conducted, and expressed the highest Chapter 24. fatisfaction, that the same force was maintained 1723 to 1724. by fea and land, which had enabled the nation to hold among the powers of Europe, the rank and figure due to her honour and dignity, without laying any new or additional burthen on the people \*.

The unexampled unanimity and dispatch of bu-Influence of. finess which distinguished this session, was almost folely owing to the good management of Walpole, and to his influence in the house of commons, which Saint John Brodrick, in a letter to lord Midleton, calls prodigious . Hence his preponderance increased in the cabinet; and the king was induced to take a decided resolution in his favour. As a prelude to the removal of Carteret, Horace Horace Wal-Walpole was named embaffador to Paris. Yet embaffador fuch was the credit of Carteret, that this nomina-to Paris. tion was not finally effected without great difficulty. His address still supplied proofs of his influence, when it had almost totally declined; and Horace Walpole, in his private letters to his brother and Townshend, made no less heavy complaints of his fituation at Paris, than Schaub did of his disgusts to Carteret t. The dispatches, though written to him and Schaub jointly, were by private intimations to the messenger, carried first to Schaub, and communicated by him to the French ministers, before Horace Walpole was in-

<sup>\*</sup> Journals. Chandler.

<sup>+</sup> Correspondence.

I Correspondence, January 5th, 1723.

Period III. formed of their contents; the dispatches for Spain 1720 to 1727, and the plenipotentiaries, at the congress of Cambray, were enclosed to him, perused by him, and forwarded by him. Of this measure, Horace Walpole bitterly complained to his brother, declared his resolution not to act any longer jointly with Schaub, infifted that one of them must be recalled; and justly observed, that the removal or continuance of Schaub, must prove to the world; either the full establishment or decline of their credit with the king. Walpole and Townshend now found it necessary to exert all their influence; and to employ the utmost address \*. They commissioned Horace Walpole to write an oftensible letter to lord Townshend, in which he should draw the character of Sir Luke Schaub, state the impropriety of his conduct, and the difadvantage which was derived to the king's affairs, by maintaining two ministers at Paris with divided authority, and infift on his own refignation, rather than continue in a fituation in which he was perpetually thwarted and opposed.

Schaub recalled.

This letter was shewn to the king, and had its due effect. He directed that Schaub should be immediately recalled, and Townshend himself conveyed the orders to Carteret. But on the evening of the day in which the communication was

<sup>\*</sup> This account of the intrigues of Carteret and Schaub at Paris, and the counter intrigues of Horace Walpole and the brother ministers, is drawn from Sir Luke Schaub's Papers, in the possession of the earl of Hardwicke, and from the dispatches and letters to and from Horace Walpole, in the Orford and Townshend Papers. The most interesting of which will appear in the Walpole Correspondence,

thade, Carteret prevailed on the king to suspend Chapter 24.5 the orders for a precipitate recal of Schaub, and 1723 to 1724 was permitted to send him word that the king deemed his presence in England necessary for his service, and that he might return to Paris for the solemnization of the marriage between the Count de St. Florentin, and the young countess of Platen.

In obtaining this point, Carteret had another Fall of Carobject in view, besides softening the disgrace of teret. Schaub, and mortifying his rival; it was to fend him back to Paris, with a commission, which would have rendered his presence more necessary, and finally occasioned the removal of Horace Walpole. This scheme was no less than to propose a treaty of marriage between the young king of France and the princess Anne, the eldest daughter of the prince of Wales. It was concerted between Carteret and the countess of Darlington at London, Sir Luke Schaub, Madame de la Vrilliere and Madame de Prie at Paris, and the countess of Platen at Hanover. Sir Luke Schaub had the indiscretion to make the proposal to the king, in his audience, but it was received with fuch marks of distatisfaction, as gave Townshend and Walpole an opportunity to remonstrate against his prefumption, and represent to the king the great difadvantage which would refult to his affairs in France, if so indifcreet a person should be sent back as his minister. Schaub was therefore only permitted to return for the purpose of affifting at the Count de St. Florentin's marriage. The

king

Period III. 1720 to 1727. Changes in the ministry.

king gave a portion of £. 10,000 to the bride, but no dukedom was conferred on the family of la Vrilliere. Schaub was then recalled from Paris, and Horace Walpole received his credentials of embaffador from the duke of Newcastle, appointed fecretary of state in the place of Carteret, who was constituted lord lieutenant of Ireland. The duke of Grafton was made lord chamberlain; Henry Pelham, brother of the duke of Newcastle, and the considential friend of Walpole, was nominated secretary at war; and many of Walpole's friends were placed in the subordinate posts of government.

Afcendency of Townshend and Walpole.

Thus terminated the contest between Carteret and the brother ministers; and though the victory was not as complete as they expected, because they could not obtain the removal of Cadogan, Roxburgh, and Midleton, yet it gave weight to their administration, and considerably diminished the strength of the opposing party in the cabinet. Carteret supported his defeat with great dignity and firmness of mind. He declared, that having no obligations to lord Townshend for his advancement to the post of secretary of state, he was refolved never to have submitted to him in that. capacity. He did not affect to conceal his diffatisfaction at the ill usage he had received, and particularly complained that Horace Walpole had been fent to interlope in his province. While he avowed that he was defeated, he declared himfelf happier and easier in the situation of lord lieutenant, than that of fecretary of state, exposed to continual

continual mortifications; and professed his resolu- Chapter 24. tion to continue on good terms with the minif- 1723 to 1724. ters, and to promote the measures of government \*. Yet his temper was so sanguine and his spirit so little depressed, that he persevered in asferting, that his favour with the king was greater than ever, that his enemies had gained no real ftrength by the late alterations +, and, in expectation of a favourable change, delayed, under various pretences, his departure for Ireland, until the month of October, when the necessary attendance on the duties of his vice royalty annihilated his hopes. Townshend and Walpole were now in fuch high favour, that they prevailed over the king's inclinations, and overcame his jealoufy of the prince of Wales, which, notwithstanding the apparent reconciliation, continued still unabated, and shewed itself in repeated refusals to confer any particular mark of favour on those who were personally attached to his son. With a view to gratify the prince, and to fecure the earl of Scarborough, who was his mafter of the horse, and, next to Sir Spencer Compton, his greatest favourite, the brother ministers had promised him the garter; and as it was the cuftom of the king always to retain one vacant ribband, they waited until there were two undifposed of, when Townshend requested one of them for Scarborough.

<sup>\*</sup> Stephen Poyntz to Horace Walpole, April 5th, 1724. Walpole Papers.

<sup>+</sup> Saint John Brodrick to lord Midleton .- Correspondence.

Period III. 1720 to 1727.

The king faid, he could not comply with his request, because it was already conferred; and when Townshend asked, with some degree of surprise, who was the person? the king answered, "I intend it for your lordship." Townshend, after expreffing a deep fense of his gratitude, begged leave to decline it. The king still infifted, and Townshend still declined. "Lord Scarborough," he replied, "is now at the door of the closet, expecting every moment to be called in to thank your majesty for the honour; he will naturally fuppose that I have deceived him, and that after having left him with a promile to intercede in his favour, I have asked it for myself; which will ruin my character as a man of honour and veracity." "Well then," returned the king, " for once I will break through my usual rule, and will confer both the vacant garters; one shall be your's, and the other shall be given to lord Scarborough, whom you may now introduce \*. Scarborough had accordingly the first, and both were installed at the same time ...

The king delays his journey to Hanover. The king gave the ftrongest proof of the full confidence which he placed in Townshend and Walpole, by submitting to defer his journey to Hanover, even after he had fixed the time of his departure. This change of resolution was effected

<sup>\*</sup> This anecdote was communicated by lord Sydney. It is mentioned in a different way by Count Broglio, in a letter to Louis the Fifteenth; but he relates it only as a rumour. Correspondence, 1724.

<sup>+</sup> Political State.

by the representations of lord Townshend, who Chapter 24. stated in firm, though respectful terms, the in-1723 to 1724. conveniences which would result from his absence at this period \*.

The continuance of the king in England had Meeting of operated in suppressing public clamours, and in parliament. promoting public tranquillity. The parliament, which met on the 12th of November, was opened by a speech from the throne, which dwelt with particular energy and fatisfaction on the prosperous. state of affairs: "Peace with all powers abroad, at home perfect tranquillity, plenty, and an uninterrupted enjoyment of all civil and religious rights, are most distinguishing marks of the fayour and protection of divine Providence, and these, with all their happy consequences, will, I doubt not, by the bleffing of God upon our joint endeavours, be long continued to my people. The fame provision by fea and land, for the defence and fafety of the nation, will continue to make us respected abroad, and consequently secure at home. The fame attention to the eafe and encouragement of trade and navigation, will establish credit upon the strongest basis, and raise fuch a spirit of industry, as will not only enable us gradually to discharge the national debt, but will likewise greatly increase the wealth, power, and influence of this kingdom. You must all be fensible how much our present happiness is owing to your union and fleady conduct; it is

<sup>\*</sup> See Correspondence.

therefore wholly unnecessary to recommend to 1720 to 1727. you unanimity and dispatch in all your deliberations. The zeal and abilities you have on all occasions shewn, in supporting the interest of your country, even under the greatest difficulties, leave no room to doubt of my having your entire and effectual concurrence in every thing that can tend to the service of the public, and to the good of my people \*."

This fession of parliament, no less remarkable for the unanimity with which business was conducted, than for a barrenness of important transactions, was only diftinguished by the commencement of Pulteney's opposition, the recal of Bolingbroke, events which are noticed in subsequent chapters of this work, and by the impeachment of lord Macclesfield, in which Walpole took very little share. It was closed on the 31st of May.

Walpole created knight of the bath and garter.

A few days before the prorogation of parliament, the order of the Bath was revived, and the minister was created a knight, from which period he affumed the title of Sir Robert Walpole, and in 1726, he was installed knight of the garter; the value of which distinction is greatly enhanced by the confideration, that excepting admiral Montagu, afterwards earl of Sandwich, he was the only commoner who, fince the reign of James the First, had been dignified by that order.

On this event he had the honour of being congratulated by the author of the Night Thoughts, in a poem, called the Instalment. The poet commences in an exalted strain of panegyric, by invoking the shades of the deceased knights to descend from heaven to assist at the inauguration of their new compeer:

Ye mighty dead, ye garter'd fons of praise!
Our morning stars! Our boast in former days!
Which hov'ring o'er, your purple wings display,
Lur'd by the pomp of this distinguish'd day,
Stoop and attend: by one the knee be bound;
One, throw the mantle's crimson folds around;
By that, the sword on his proud thigh be plac'd,
This, class the diamond girdle round his waist;
His breast, with rays, let just Godolphin spread;
Wise Burleigh plant the plumage on his head;
And Edward own, since first he fix'd the race,
None prest fair glory with a swifter pace.

## CHAPTER THE TWENTY-FIFTH:

## 1725-1726.

Anecdotes of Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke.—Disagreement between bim and Oxford.—His Schemes in favour of the Pretender.—Disgraced on the Accession of George the First.—Flies.—Joins the Pretender.—Appointed his Secretary of State.—Removed.—Causes of his Dismission.—Makes Overtures to the Britsh Cabinet.—Receives a Promise of being restored.—Writes his Letter to Sir William Wyndham, under that Supposition.—Censures Ministers.—Makes Overtures to them.—Cabals against them.—Renews his Offers of Attachment to them.—Conduct of Walpole in his Favour.—Bolingbroke receives his Pardon in Blood.—His Overtures to the Walpoles.—Act of Parliament in his Favour.—Motives for Walpole's Conduct.—Bolingbroke joins Opposition.—Remarks on his Conduct and Writings.

Period III. 1720 to 1727. WHEN Atterbury arrived at Calais, he found Bolingbroke, who had just obtained his pardon, waiting for a conveyance to England, on which he expressed his surprise, and exclaimed, "Then I am exchanged!" And well might the bishop be astonished, that a minister who had secretly caballed to place the Pretender on the throne, and had, since his slight, openly engaged in his service, should experience the lenity of government, and be permitted to return to his native country, which he had endeavoured to distress by secret intrigues and open rebellion.

The pardon of Bolingbroke, granted by the king, was foon followed by the repeal of the bill of attainder passed against him in 1716; and Walpole, who had moved for that bill, moved also for its repeal; an act of imprudence which he com-

mitted

mitted in opposition to the advice of his most ap- Chapter 25. proved friends, the opinion of feveral of the king's 1725 to 1726. ministers, and in contradiction to his own judgment. I shall in this chapter attempt to develope the causes which led to this extraordinary event, and explain the reasons which induced Walpole to take a ftep, of which he too late repented. This inquiry will be introduced by a few biographical anecdotes, for the purpose of connecting the narrative.

Henry St. John, fon of Sir Henry St. John, ba-Biographical ronet, of Lydiard Tregoze, in Wiltshire, by Mary, Bolingbroke. fecond daughter and heirefs of Robert Rich, earl of Warwick, was born in 1678 \*. He received his education at Eton school, and completed it at Christ Church, Oxford. He distinguished himfelf at a very early period by his talents and exceffes; and made fo conspicuous a figure in the house of commons, that in 1704, he was appointed fecretary at war, by the influence of Harley, to whom he attached himfelf, and with whom he acted under the banner of the Tories. On the removal of Harley, in 1707, St. John refigned his employments, and followed the fortune of his benefactor. On the difinission of the Whig administration, Harley proposed to reinstate him in his employment, and expressed a desire to admit some

<sup>\*</sup> The age of ford Bolingbroke is erroneously stated by his biographer, and by Collins, both of whom say he died in 1751, in his 79th year, which places his birth in 1673. It appears from one of his letters to Sir William Wyndham, dated Now year's day 1738, in which he fays "nine months hence I shall be three-score." (Egremont Papers.)

1720 to 1727.

Period III. of the most moderate Whigs into the administration. But St. John opposed the coalition, and infifted on being appointed fecretary of state for foreign affairs, with which demand Harley was obliged to comply.

> Bolingbroke was fuspected, during his embaffy at Paris, of having betrayed the fecrets of the cabinet to the French court. These suspicions of his treachery were probably derived from his inattention and love of pleasure; for Madame Tencin, fo remarkable for beauty, abilities, gallantry, and skill in political intrigue, drew him into a connection with her, at the instigation of Torcy, and contrived to steal from him several papers and dispatches \*.

Disagreement with Oxford

Two fuch opposite characters as Oxford and Bolingbroke, could not long cordially agree. Bolingbroke possessed great animation of countenance, elegance of manners, and dignity of deportment. He was fascinating in conversation, of commanding eloquence, abounding in wit and fancy, master of polite learning, which he knew how to draw forth on all occasions. In his private character he was without morals and without principles, not only not concealing, but rather proud of his profligacy. He was fond of pleafure, yet never fuffered his amusements to interfere with affairs of importance; affecting to refemble the characters of Alcibiades and Petronius, by mixing pleafure and business, in which, when necessity re-

<sup>\*</sup> Horace Walpole to Lord Townshend, Nov. 1, 1723. Papers.

quired his attendance, he was so indefatigable, that Chapter 25. he would drudge like a common clerk. Quick in 1725 to 1726. apprehension, easy of access, no less artful in negotiation than decifive and vigorous in action, clear and perspicuous in his style, but too fond of declamation and metaphor; adopting and enforcing all the violent measures of the Tories; scorning to temporife, caballing with the friends of the Pretender, either with a view to place him on the throne, or to obtain the removal of Oxford by their affiftance.

Oxford was unimpeached in his private character of ter, never offending against morality, either in con-Oxford. versation or action, a tender husband and a good father; highly difinterested and generous. He prided himself on his high descent, was stiff and formal in his deportment, and forbidding in his manner. - He was learned and pedantic; embarraffed and inelegant, both in speaking and writing. He was equally an enemy to pleafure and business; extremely dilatory and fond of procraftination; timid in public affairs, yet intrepid when his own person only was concerned; jealous of power, indefatigable in promoting the petty intrigues of the court, but negligent in things of importance; a Whig in his heart, and a Tory from ambition; too ready, for temporary convenience, to adopt measures he disapproved, yet unwilling wholly to facrifice his real fentiments to interest or party; affecting the most profound secrecy in all political transactions, and mysterious in the most triffing occurrences. He was liberal in mak-

ing promises, yet breaking them without scruple. 1720 to 1727. a defect which arose more from facility of temper. than from defign. He corresponded at the same time with the dethroned family and the house of Hanover, and was therefore neither trusted or respected by either party. The only point in which these two ministers agreed, was the love of literature and the patronage of learned men; which rendered their administration eminently illustrious.

Bolingbroke disgusted.

The difagreement naturally occasioned by fuch discordance of tempers and principles, was heightened by a perpetual struggle for power, and the views of disappointed ambition. Bolingbroke was difgusted that Harley was advanced to an earldom, while he was only created a viscount; a cause of complaint which he acknowledged, by faying that he was dragged into the house of lords, in such a manner as to make his promotion a punishment and not a reward. He was still farther discontented, when he was refused the order of the garter, although fix vacant ribbands were conferred, among whom his rival, Oxford, was not forgotten. But although he was disaffected, yet he did not venture to give a public opposition to the first minister. Oxford maintained the superiority of power, by the ascendency of long habit, by the influence of the favourite, lady Masham, and by the strong prejudice which queen Anne entertained against Bolingbroke, for his notorious profligacy.

Obtains the removal of Oxford.

But when Oxford neglected the Jacobites, by whose affistance he had made a peace, and offended

lady

lady Masham, by depriving her of a share in the Chapter 25. profits of the assente contract, Bolingbroke took 1725 to 1725. advantage of these indiscretions; he intrigued with Berwick and the agents of the Pretender, caballed with lady Masham, who savoured the restoration of the Pretender, affected to court the Whigs, obtained the dismission of Oxford, and would have succeeded him in the place of lord high treasurer, had not the death of queen Anne disappointed his hopes.

Being, by the command of George the First, Dismissed. deprived of the feals with marks of difgrace, he fent a vindication of his conduct to the king, and in a vifit which he paid to Bothmar, attributed his difmission to the infinuations of Oxford, and accufed his rival of having mifreprefented his conduct\*. When the arrangement of the new administration precluded him from all hopes, and the Tories were perfecuted, he acted with spirit and dignity, and warmly defended in the house of lords, the peace of Utrecht, when it was attacked by the Whigs. He would not however venture to stand the profecution which awaited him, but after having received, as he himself afferts, certain and repeated information, "that a refolution was taken to bring him to the scaffold," he fled from Quits Eng-England +.

Notwithstanding the laboured apologies and eloquent vindication of his conduct, in his letter to Sir William Wyndham; and his positive assur-

<sup>\*</sup> Macpherson's State Papers, vol. 2. p. 650.

<sup>+</sup> Tindal, vol. 18. p. 356.

Period III.

ances that he never formed any engagements with 1720 to 1727. the Pretender, until he had been attainted \*; it is now afcertained beyond the fmallest doubt, that Bolingbroke had entered deeply into the schemes which Oxford, in connivance with the queen, had formed to break the Protestant succession, and to place the Pretender on the throne of Great Britain; that Oxford had caballed with the Jacobites, principally with a view to overturn the Whig miniftry, and to facilitate the peace; and that the real cause of his removal was derived from a refusal to continue the defigns in favour of the Pretender. which Bolingbroke offered to purfue. The whole plan and progress of this conspiracy is detailed in fo clear and unequivocal a manner by Marshal Berwick, who was principally concerned in the correspondence, as to demonstrate the guilt of Bolingbroke, and fufficiently prove that he was justly attainted for treasonous practices by the sovereign whom he had attempted to exclude from the throne.

Joins the Pretender.

Having quitted England, to avoid the punishment which awaited him, he threw himself into the Pretender's fervice, and was appointed his fecretary of state. The Pretender, on his return from his ill-conducted expedition into Scotland, suspecting the treachery or indifcretion of Bolingbroke, difmissed him from his service with ignominy; many reports were spread at Paris of the motives which

<sup>\*</sup> Final Answer to the Remarks on the Craftsman's Vindication.

<sup>\*</sup> Memoires de Berwic.

induced the Pretender to remove a person of such Chapter 25. distinguished talents, to which the earl of Stair lu-1725 to 1726. dicroufly alludes in a private letter to Horace Walpole\*. But though charges of treachery + were laid against Bolingbroke, by the Pretender's party at Paris, yet as Stair gave no credit to them; and as Marshal Berwick † also entirely exculpated him from any imputation of treachery; we have no reason to suppose that he acted contrary to his professions, or was mean enough to betray a prince whom he was at that time interested to restore. His dismission was sudden and unexpected. He had supped with the Pretender, who declared that he had many enemies, but affured him of his unalterable kindness. Bolingbroke retired at one in the morning; and at nine the duke of Ormond came to demand the feals. The real cause of his difmission was derived from some abusive expresfions, which, in a state of intoxication, he had ut-

\* Correspondence, Article Bolingbroke, Period III.

tered against the Pretender. Ormond, who was present, related them in confidence to lord Mar, who, desirous of ruining Bolingbroke, that he might succeed him in his office of secretary of state, asked the duke, in the presence of the Pretender, what the expressions were which Bolingbroke had made use of. Ormond declined repeating them,

<sup>†</sup> These charges were made in a letter from James Murray, afterwards created earl of Dunbar, by the Pretender, and were answered, partly by himself and partly by his secretary, Brinsden ||, and his justification refuted in a reply supposed to be written by Mar.

<sup>||</sup> Tindal, vol. 18. p. 516.-544.

Period III. until the Pretender commanded him; he then 1720 to 1727: obeyed, and the Pretender was fo exasperated, that he instantly sent Ormond to announce his difgrace. This step was taken without the knowledge of the queen mother. Hearing of his difmission, she fent to Bolingbroke, requesting him not to retire; as matters might be still adjusted between her fon and him. He returned for answer that he was a free man; that he wished his arm might rot off, if he ever drew his fword, or employed his pen in their fervice \*.

Cabals with Stair.

Bolingbroke, in fact, rejoiced at his difmission, for it gave him an immediate pretence to quit the party. "The chevalier," he fays, "cut this gordian knot afunder at one blow. He broke the links of that chain which former engagements had fastened on me, and gave me a right to esteem myself free from obligations of keeping measures with him. I took therefore, from that moment, the resolution of making my peace at home, and of employing all the unfortunate experience I had acquired already, to undeceive my friends, and to promote the union and 'quiet of my country 4."

He opened accordingly a negotiation with the earl of Stair, who, he fays, had been commissioned from England to treat with him, but while he refused to reveal secrets which had been intrusted to him, or betray his friends, he offered his fervices for the support of the established government. He

Letter to Sir William Wyndham.

<sup>\*</sup> Earl of Waldegrave's Diary, who received the account from general Buckley, who was at the time in the Pretender's household.

faid that he never did any thing by halves, that in Chapter 25. returning to his duty he proposed to serve his king 1725 to 1726. and country with zeal and affection: that with that view he thought himself bound by duty and gratitude, honour, and even felf interest, to inform' the king of every thing which his experience could fuggest, that might be useful to strengthen the public tranquillity, and to crush the projects of the king's enemies. He offered his fervices to recal to their duty the Tories who had embraced the Pretender's party, by developing his true character, and by shewing how greatly they deceived themfelves in trufting to him for fecurity for their religion and liberties. "As to myfelf," adds lord Stair, "I am convinced that he spoke to me in the sincerity of his heart. I firmly believe that he is refolved to do all that lies in his power to suppress, and eradicate the Pretender's party; and I am fully fatisfied. that there is no person who can do more hurt to the cause than he can. At the end of our conversation, he pressed my hand; and said, " My lord, if the ministers do me justice to believe that my professions are fincere; the more they manage my reputation, the greater will be the advantage to the king's affairs. If, on the contrary, they fuspect my conduct, they will act right in enacting conditions, which I shall also act right in fejecting. The difficulties which I make in promifing too much, will guaranty the performance of my engagements. In all cases, time and my conduct will prove the uprightness of my intentions; and it is far better to wait with patience, than to obtain

Period III. obtain my wishes earlier, by quitting the path of 1720 to 1727. honour and probity \*.

Obtains promise of pardon.

These offers feem to have been accepted; promises were made to him of restoration to his country; a barony was, on the fecond of July 1716. conferred on his father, Sir Henry St. John, with a reversion to his other fons, and it was in confequence of these favours, and the expectation of a future reward, and probably by the advice of lord Stair, that Bolingbroke wrote a confidential letter + to Sir William Wyndham, which was purposely thrown into the hands of the ministry, and of which an account is given by lord Townshend to fecretary Stanhope, who was then at Hanover. This friendly communication, in which he exhorts his friend to quit the cause of the Pretender, was followed by his celebrated letter, that was afterwards published.

Although Bolingbroke, from the hopes of being reftored to his country, thus traversed the views of the Pretender; yet the ministers, who had reaped great advantage from his recantation, did not fulfil their promises, and he continued in anxious suspense, constantly expecting the performance of engagements which was as constantly deferred.

Sunderland and Stanhope, in particular, feem to have given him expectations, which they either were unable or never intended to realife; and a report of his restoration, in 1719, gave to Wal-

<sup>\*</sup> Lord Stair's Letter to secretary Craggs, at the end of lord Boling broke's Letter to Sir William Wyndham.

Correspondence. Period III. Article, Bolingbroke.

pole, who was then in opposition, an opportunity Chapter 25. of mentioning it with public disapprobation. In 1725 to 1726. his pamphlet on the peerage bill, speaking of Oxford, he fays, "His rival in guilt and power even now prefumes to expect an act of the legislature to indemnify him, and qualify his villainy; and I doubt not but both \* expect once more to give laws to the kingdom 4." Yet it was under the administration, and by the efforts of this very minister, who had moved his impeachment in the house of commons, that Bolingbroke was restored to his country. In May 1723, his pardon passed Obtains his the great feal, or as it was called, his reftoration in pardon. blood, which enabled him to return to his country. but without giving back his forfeited estate, or his feat in the house of peers 1.

Bolingbroke, on receiving his pardon, came to visits England, wrote letters of thanks to the king, land. Townshend, and the duchess of Kendal at Hanover, waited on Walpole, to whom he behaved in the most service manner, and betrayed the intrigues of Carteret with the Tories. He even proposed to Walpole, a coalition with Sir William Wyndham, earl Gower, and other leaders of that party, whom he described as dissatisfied with Carteret for having amused them with false hopes, disgusted with a fruitless opposition, and anxious to join administration. Walpole reprimanded his officious-ness with becoming dignity, and did not hesitate infinuating, that he was working against his own

† p. 14.

<sup>\*</sup> Oxford and Bolingbroke.

<sup>1</sup> Political State for 1723.

Period III.

interest, in attempting to form a coalition between 1720 to 1727. the Whige and Tories, when his restoration depended folely on a Whig parliament; at the fame time he frankly declared that great difficulties opposed it; gave no hopes that he would rashly bring before the house of commons any motion in his favour, and hinted, that any future reward could only be purchased by future services \*. Bolingbroke received these observations with the utmost deference, acknowledged his obligations to Townshend and Walpole, and made the ftrongest profesfions of future attachment. He kept up a correfpondence with the duchels of Kendal, and trusted to her influence for removing all obstructions.

> He availed himself of this journey to renew his intimacy with his former acquaintances, particularly Sir William Wyndham, and to procure new connections. His infinuating manners and lively conversation captivated many who had detested him while in power and profperity. Amongst these lord Finch and the earl of Berkley received his overtures with complacency, and zealously efpoused his cause ...

Returns to Paris.

After paffing a few weeks at Aix-la-Chapelle, with a view to obtain permission to visit Hanover; he returned to Paris, at the moment when Horace Walpole and Schaub were striving for pre-eminence in the cabinet of Verfailles. Being fully convinced that Carteret would be defeated, and that the influence of Townshend and Walpole was

Correspondence.

+ Etough.

predominant;

predominant, he paid the most service court to Chapter 25. Horace Walpole, and gave him repeated informa-1725 to 1726. tion on subjects of great secreey and importance.

On the death of the duke of Orleans, a prospect Makes overopened to him of rendering his fituation at Paris Walpoles. extremely interesting, by becoming a confidential channel of communication between the duke of Bourbon and the British administration, and his own efforts were not wanting to carry his scheme into execution. He communicated to Walpole and Harcourt the fituation of affairs at the court of France, drew the character and described the power of the duke of Bourbon, and the influence of Madame de Prie. He stated his own intimacy with the prime minister and the mistress, and offered his fervices to carry on a fecret correspondence, and to promote the good understanding between the two kingdoms, which had been eftablished under the administration of the late duke of Orleans, and which, unless the duke of Bourbon could be kept steady to the same principles, was in danger of being overturned \*.

Bolingbroke managed the business with such dexterity, that he affected to decline, while he was most anxious to be employed in this mediation; and appeared to be acting in conformity to the suggestions of the British cabinet, while he was carrying into execution his own arrangements. Walpole was so far imposed on by his artful representations, that he wrote to his brother Horace,

<sup>\*</sup> Correspondence.—Article Bolingbroke.

Period III. recommending him to employ Bolingbroke as agent 1720 to 1727. with the duke of Bourbon; and had not the addrefs and fagacity of the minister at Paris declined his interpolition, and opened a direct communication with the duke of Bourbon, without the privity of Bolingbroke, the principal management of the king's affairs, must have been thrown into his hands, and the ministers in England have been laid under fuch obligations, that his complete reftoration would have been an act of justice and necesfity. Foiled in this attempt, he endeavoured to infinuate nimfelf into the negotiation relating to the grant of a dukedom to the Marquis de la Vrilliere. He related to Horace Walpole the embarraffments under which the duke of Bourbon laboured, exaggerated the indifcretion of Schaub, and hinted that by proper management, that intrigue might be fo conducted as to lay a foundation of merit with the French minister, and destroy the credit of Carteret. In a conference which he had with the duke of Bourbon, the account of which he took care should be communicated to Horace Walpole \*, he decried Carteret, praifed Townshend, and exalted the abilities and influence of Walpole. This double dealing did not escape the notice of Schaub; and in reply to his account, transmitted in his private correspondence, Carteret was induced to observe, "What you fay of Bolingbroke is scarcely credible. If it

Letter from Horace Walpole to Robert Walpole, Paris, December 15, 1723. Walpole Papers.

is true, he has not half the capacity I thought he Chapter 25 had \* ."

1725 to 1726.

In the midst of these intrigues, Bolingbroke opened his fituation and explained his fentiments to Horace Walpole. He described his suspence and agitation, recapitulated and repeated promifes given by Sunderland and Stanhope, mentioned his repeated disappointments, and observed, " that autumnal promifes had ended in vernal excuses." He expressed his thanks for the act of favour lately extended to him, and added that he had no reason to complain of the present ministers, as they had performed as much as they had undertaken. He trusted that the inclinations of the king, as well as those of Townshend and Walpole, were not unfavourable; and hoped that his reftoration might be obtained in parliament. He endeavoured to feparate his case from all considerations of party. He artfully declared himself at full liberty, as having no tie nor obligation to any perfons, but to those who would come forward in his favour; difclaimed all connections with the Tories, whom he accused of having treated him with ingratitude and barbarity; and declared his firm opinion, that the administration could not stand, nor the government be supported, excepting on a Whig foundation, and no engraftment could be made but upon a Whig stock. He protested that he would prove himself a faithful subject to the

<sup>\*</sup> Carteret to Schaub, March 12, 1724. Hardwicke Papers.

Period III. 1720 to 1727.

king, and be for ever grateful to those who had served him in so important an affair; and would act as they should prescribe to him, either by exerting himself in the house of lords, or by retiring into the country.

The reply of Horace Walpole was open, manly, and explicit. He expressed great satisfaction at the declaration, that his brother and friends had never deceived Bolingbroke, and faid that what remained to be done depended on parliament. He exposed the difficulties arifing from the temper and dispofition of parties, hinted at the general aversion of the Whigs to his restoration, described the embarraffinent of the ministers, and the obstacles which might arife to defeat it if precipitately introduced into the house of commons; and he hinted in general terms, that his brother's proneness to mercy, his regard for Bolingbroke, and his inclination to oblige lord Harcourt, would incline him to adopt any practicable means of ferving him.

Bolingbroke observing, from this discourse, that insuperable difficulties obstructed his complete restoration, prudently appeared to give up that design, and requested that Horace Walpole would intercede with his brother, at least to obtain the reversal of his attainder, so far as to render him capable of enjoying the family estate, after the death of his father. He added, that he had not mentioned this request even to his friend lord Harcourt, but entirely submitted it to the good will and judgment.

judgment of the minister at the head of the trea- Chapter 25.

1725 to 1726.

His views at this period were facilitated by his Marries Mamarriage with Madame de Villette, the niece of dame de la Madame de Maintenon, a woman of great merit and accomplishments, who was highly esteemed at the French court; and a private transaction, which related to part of her property, gave him an opportunity of fending her to England, and of foliciting his reftoration. Madame de Villette employed Drummond, an English banker, to place f. 50,000 in the funds, who purchased, in the name of Sir Matthew Decker, long annuities, bearing interest at 4 per cent. Decker gave a note to Drummond, with an order to pay the fum on demand of Madame de Villette. Eighteen months afterwards, Decker paid f. 1,000 on her draft, and remitted her the annual interest of the remainder till Christmas 1723. About that period, he refused to transfer any more money on her order, alledging, that as the was married, he could not deliver it up without being indemnified; and the fituation of lord Bolingbroke, whose estate and property had been declared forfeited, rendered his indemnification of no / avail. Thus circumstanced, his lady repaired to England, bearing the name of Villette, and required the payment of her money in her own right. She brought strong recommendations from the duke of Bourbon and count de Morville, and under cover of this transaction, paid affiduous court

<sup>\*</sup> Horace Walpole's Letter to Robert Walpole. Orford and Walpole Papers.

Period III. to the ministers, by whom she was well received, 1720 to 1727: and from whom the obtained a promife to reverfe that part of the bill of attainder which related to the forfeiture of his estate. Bolingbroke expressed himself highly satisfied with this promise, although it fell short of the offers which had been made by the preceding administration, and renewed, in the strongest terms, his professions of devotion to Walpole, for this effential mark of favour.

Difficulties attending the of his attainder.

The minister, however, had many difficulties to partial reversal encounter, and many obstructions to remove, before he could venture to submit the question to the house of commons. Although Sir William Wyndham had conciliated, in favour of Bolingbroke, a great number of Tories, yet a confiderable body of them, highly diffatisfied with his late application to the Whigs, still remained inflexible. But the principal opposition was expected from the staunch Whigs, those who had been the strenuous advocates for the fuccession in the Hanover family, and who were the firm supporters of government. To obtain their affent, or to baffle their attempts, required much skill and management, and was the work of time and labour.

> The period at length arrived when this promife was fulfilled. On the 20th of April 1725, lord Finch offered to the house of commons, a petition from Henry St. John, late viscount Bolingbroke, setting forth, "That he was truly concerned for his offence in not having furrendered himself, whereby he was attainted of high treason, and forfeited all his real and personal estate, and praying, that leave may be

given

given to bring in a bill for restoring him to his fa- Chapter 25. mily inheritance, and enabling him to make pur- 1725 to 1726. chases of any real or personal estate within the kingdom."

Walpole brought the confent and approbation of Walpole fupthe king; and after the reading of the petition, ports the bill. feconded the motion, made by lord Finch, for bringing in the bill, by observing, "That he was fully fatisfied the petitioner had fufficiently atoned for his past offences, and therefore deserved the fayour of that house so far, as to enable him to enjoy his family inheritance, which could not be done without an act of parliament."

Methuen, comptroller of the household, in an opposition to animated speech, which made a deep impression on it. the house, expressed his hearty disapprobation of the motion, and observed, "that the public crimes for which this petitioner stood attainted, were so heinous, so flagrant, and of so deep a dye, as not to admit of any expiation or atonement; and whatever he might have done to deferve his majesty's private grace and pardon, yet he thought him altogether unworthy of any national favour." Then, after enumerating the instances of his villainous and scandalous conduct, while he had a share in the administration of affairs in the last reign; he concluded, "to fum up all his crimes in one, his traitorous defign of defeating the Protestant fuccession, the foundation of both our present and future happiness; and of advancing a popish Pretender to the throne, which would have involved his native country in endless misery." The argu-

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Period III.

ments which ferjeant Miller advanced were no less 1720 to 1727 ftrong. "He was against the motion for three reasons: 1. Because he thought it against the interest of the king. 2. Against the interest of his country. 3. Against the interest of the present ministry. He loved the king better than he loved himself; and hated his enemies more than he did. He loved his country as he loved himself; and as he thought its interest inseparable from the king's, fo he would not have any public favour shewn to one, who had acted in fo notorious a manner against both. As for the present ministers, he was so well fatisfied with their just, prudent, and successful management, that he would not fee them exposed to the cabals and intrigues of their inveterate, though feemingly reconciled enemies \*." This opposition was strenuously enforced by Arthur Onflow, afterwards speaker of the house of commons, lord William Paulett, Sir Thomas Pengelly, and feveral others, who almost uniformly supported the measures of government. The motion, however, was carried by 231 voices against 113; and lord Finch and Walpole were ordered to bring in a bill according to the prayer of the petitioner +.

On the fecond reading of the bill, lord William Paulett moved for the addition of a clause, "difabling the late viscount Bolingbroke from being a member of either house of parliament, or from enjoying any office or place of trust." This motion. warmly seconded by several members, was no less

May 13. 1

\* Chandler, † Journals. firenously opposed by the minister, and negatived Chapter 25. by 154 against 84. The bill being agreed to, was 1725 to 1726 fent up to the house of lords, there it passed without a division, but not without a violent protest signed Passed. by five \* lords; and finally received the royal assent.

Thus was concluded this difficult and difagreeable bufiness, from which the minister acquired more unpopularity than from any other act in his administration, for which he incurred great censure both from friends and enemies, and by which, instead of conciliating the favour, he exasperated the very person for whom he exposed himself to so much obloquy.

Soon after the passing of this act, Bolingbroke July 24. Bolingbroke returned to England, wholly diffatisfied with the returns to reverfal of the forfeiture, which he had fo repeatedly England. and earnestly folicited as the termination of his hopes, and for which he proffered his most devoted attachment to those who should favour his cause. " Here I am," he observed in a letter to Swift, "two thirds restored, my person safe, (unless I meet hereafter with harder treatment than even that of Sir Walter Raleigh) and my estate, with all the other property I have acquired, or may acquire. fecured to me. But the attainder is kept carefully and prudently in force, lest so corrupt a member should come again into the house of lords, and his bad leaven should four that sweet untainted mafs ."

\* Coventry, Briftol, Clinton, Lechmere, Onflow. - Journals. Chandler.

About

<sup>†</sup> Swift's Works, vol. 19. p. 164.

Period III. Complains of Walpole.

About the same time, he wrote a letter to the 1720 to 1727 king, claiming the promise that had been made of a full restitution, laying the blame of the failure on the minister, whom he accused of meanness and treachery\*, under the mask of good will. He disclaimed all obligation to Walpole, always afferted. both in his public writings and private letters, that the king invited him, and drew him into England. by frequent, folemn, and unfolicited promifes of his complete restoration .

Joins opposition.

He now declared himself a decided enemy to Walpole, effected a reconciliation with the Tories, whom he had fo recently reviled, joined Pulteney and the discontented Whigs; and a year had fcarcely elapfed fince the passing of the bill, before he began to publish in the Craftsman, a political paper, which first appeared the 5th of December 1726, a feries of essays replete with the most bitter invectives.

Mutual accufations.

The adherents of Walpole, in their turn, no lefs bitterly accused Bolingbroke of ingratitude; that after being reftored to the liberty of breathing the air of his native country, and the enjoyment of his fortune (when he was deservedly an exile from one, and had justly forfeited the other) by the indulgence, favour, and affiftance of the minister, using that indulgence, and requiting that favour, by labouring the destruction of his benefactor.

In all questions where party is concerned, and

<sup>\*</sup> Lord Bolingbroke to lord Hardwicke, Correspondence, Period III. Article, Bolingbroke.

<sup>†</sup> Lord Bolingbroke to Sir William Wyndham.

refentment excited, and where abuse is thrown out Chapter 25. with unabating virulence on both fides, it is diffi-1725 to 1726. cult to reconcile discordant affertions, and to extract truth from opposite accusations. It is no less difficult to render the conduct of Walpole confiftent with that prudence by which he was commonly directed, or to justify the motives which induced him to promote an act that enabled Bolingbroke to fettle in England, and to harafs his administration. He had known Bolingbroke from his early youth; he appreciated his talents, was aware of his infinuating manners and reftless temper, was not ignorant that while he was paying the most fervile court to the Whigs, he had been caballing with the Tories; was convinced that no dependence could be placed on his word, and muft have been conscious that nothing less than a full restoration would satisfy a man of his aspiring ambition.

But the apparent inconfistency and imprudence Motives of of Walpole's conduct, are sufficiently accounted for Walpole's from the secret history of this whole transaction; from which it appears, that he did not act from his own impulse, but was gradually led to promote a measure, which he did not approve. We have the authority of Sir Robert Walpole himself, that the restoration of lord Bolingboke was the work of the duches of Kendal, and that in obedience to the express commands of the king, he supported the act. Bolingbroke, continually disappointed in his hopes, had recourse to a surer and more powerful channel of savour. He gained the duches of Ken-

Period III. dal by a present of f. 11,000\*, and obtained a pro-3720 to 1727; mife to use her influence over the king for the purpose of forwarding his complete restoration. Harcourt, with her co-operation, feems principally to have managed this delicate bufiness; and as at this period Townshend was reconciled to the duchess of Kendal, it was probably owing to her interest that he was induced to move the king to grant a pardon to Bolingbroke, and even to give him still farther hopes.

> In this juncture, Townshend removed to Hanover, and left to Walpole the management of the business. Walpole having sounded his friends, and the advocates of government, found that strong objections were made to the reftoration of so obnoxious a person, and being himself inclined to the fame opinion, he, with his ufual frankness and candour, represented the difficulties, not only to Townshend, but even to Bolingbroke himself, and declined entering into any farther engagements. Bolingbroke, who well understood the temper of parties, foon perceived that insuperable obstacles were apposed to his complete restoration. He thought fit, therefore, to temporize, and requested, as I have already observed, the reversal of part of the bill of attainder, without obtaining his feat in the house of lords. This request, strongly enforced by the duchefs of Kendal, was particularly recommended by the king to Walpole, in a most authoritative manner. The minister could not venture

<sup>\*</sup> Etough's Minutes of a Conversation with Sir Robert Walpole. Correspondence.

to disobey the express commands of the king; Chapter 25, could not withstand the importunities of the 1725 to 1726 duches, who had recently affisted in driving Carteret and Cadogan from the helm; was anxious to oblige lord Harcourt, with whom he then lived in habits of the strictest intimacy, and was overcome by the unceasing solicitations of Bolingbroke, and softened by his professions of inviolable devotion.

Walpole himself performed all he had promised; and had reason in his turn to expect the accomplishment of those professions of gratitude which Bolingbroke had recently made to him. He was not responsible for any agreement, made by the preceding administration; he was not answerable for the private affurances of the duchefs of Kendal; he was not even bound by the promises, if any such were positively made, of the sovereign himself. Bolingbroke had therefore no reason to accuse Walpole of meanness and treachery, of having broken his word, and of having deceived him under the mask of good-will; for the minister never in any instance promised a full restitution, but always in the most frank and candid manner, gave no farther hopes than obtaining the repeal of that part of the bill of attainder which related to the forfeiture of. his estates.

But whatever were the motives which induced Walpole to confent to the return of Bolingbroke, it was undoubtedly the greatest act of imprudence which he ever committed. For till that event, he had only to contend with an heterogeneous opposition, unallied in principle, and divested of mutual confidence:

Period III. confidence; eafily vanquished, because not capable 1720 to 1727. of uniting under any leader acceptable to all in a well-concerted attack. It remained for Bolingbroke to infuse spirit and harmony into this inert and ill-combined mass. He foon found means to effect this end, by a plaufible philosophy, recommended by all the graces of eloquence, and enforced by all the arts of personal address. He directed and inspired their labours in parliament; and his ready pen was employed at once to justify their conduct, and to vilify their adversaries.

Remarks on the political writings of Bolingbroke:

His writings were recommended by a glare of metaphorical ornament, at that time very unufual, the effect of which was to dazzle the judgment of the reader, fix his attention upon the furface, and prevent him from penetrating into the fubstance of the argument.

It is a just remark of his biographer, that Bolingbroke too frequently falls into the fame error of which he accuses Clarendon, that of giving characters of persons which are incompatible with their actions. He warped history to his own convenience, and was less solicitous to represent past events truly, than, under colour of relating them, to draw parallels with those against whom he directed his efforts, by felecting only fuch parts as fuited his particular views \*. In drawing the character of Walpole, Bolingbroke is guilty of the groffest mifreprefentation, and the most exaggerated malice. It is recorded of Zeuxis, the celebrated painter,

<sup>\*</sup> Life of Bolingbroke, p. 334.

that for the purpose of giving perfection to the Chapter 25. portrait of Venus, he selected the most beautiful 1725 to 1726. parts of the most beautiful women, and from the union of those parts, formed the goddess, without a single desect. In his political delineations, Bolingbroke has pursued the opposite line of conduct. He selected from the ministers of all times and countries; their prominent vices, and from their assemblage, drew the portrait of Walpole without a single virtue.

From the versatility of Bolingbroke's political life, no fundamental principle of action could be expected; for where is that principle which at some period he had not violated? Where was the party to which he had not rendered himself obnoxious? Nothing then remained for him, but to form a political creed as versatile as his life, and which, Proteus-like, adapted itself to all times, situations, and circumstances.

His doctrines are principally reduced under three heads. A government by prerogative, rather than by influence; coalition of parties; the supposed perfection of the human species in particular instances.

The leading principle of his writings was, that a government by prerogative was better than a government by influence. In enforcing this topic, the author betrays his aversion to the revolution, while he affects to praise it, by an affertion no less remarkable for its audacity than its untruth; namely, that the rights of the subject were more endangered by the system of influence, which had

VOL. I.

BE

taken

Period III. taken place fince, than by that of arbitrary power 1720 to 1727 which was purfued before that æra. That the crown had acquired more fources of power by the establishment of the funds, and nomination of revenue officers, and enjoyed the means of invading liberty more effectually by the constitution of the revenue, than it ever had been invaded by prerogative. He characterises prerogative as a mere chimera, and influence as a new and undefinable monster, far more dangerous to our liberties. He avers, that national corruption, which he makes the necessary consequence of investing the crown with the nomination of the officers employed in managing the revenue, is become univerfal, and that the loss of liberty is the natural and necessary consequence of national corruption. From these premises he draws the obvious conclusion, that it becomes highly necessary to prevent the ruin of the constitution, by reducing the power of the king, by means of an independent house of commons; and declares that the only method of effecting this, was to leffen the means of corruption, to revive frequent parliaments, and to infure their purity by introducing felf-denying ordinances.

This tenet could only be supported by the other two doctrines, equally abfurd and extravagant. The fecond of these doctrines was to enforce the coalition of parties, by which he understood that all the invidious diffinctions of Whig and Tory \*, Dif-

<sup>\*</sup> The impossibility of reconciling the Whigs and the Tories, and the different views of those parties, are fully shewn by his own confession, in a letter to Sir William Wyndham, July 23, 1739. Correspondence, Period VII.

fenter and Church-man, which had fo long troubled Chapter 25. and distracted the kingdom, should be funk into 1725 to 1726. those of court and country; the first of which he confiders as a faction and confederacy against the other: and the fecond he characterifes under the denomination of constitutionalists.

With a view to effect this purpose in a free country, in which party is an effential requifite, he drew out a fystem of policy so artfully contrived, that any man, whatever were his political opinions. might, without appearing to defert his own private notions of government, enlift himself under the banners of any opposition, or vote in favour of any question, however repugnant to his real fentiments. under the notion of opposing or driving out a corrupt minister, and the semblance of laying aside all prejudice and party attachment.

In attempting to explode all former distinctions, to unite men of all denominations, and to change the narrow spirit of party into a diffusive spirit of public benevolence, he well knew that he contradicted the history of past ages, and the experience of his own. therefore broached the third doctrine, the supposed perfection of the human species, in particular instances. Convinced of the abfurdity of advancing, that an opposition composed of the most heterogeneous parts could continue uniformly true to their professed principles, and would not be divided or defert each other at the instigations of ambition or self-interest, he turned his hopes of success from the many few; to those few who engross the whole reason of the species, who are born to instruct, to guide,

Period III. and to preferve, and who are defigned to be tutors and 1720 to 1727. guardians of human kind. Forgetting his own complaint, that human passions are so strong, and human reason so weak, he described men as they ought to be, and not as they are; men whom he represented as stars still stuck in good plenty up and down our hemisphere, making virtue the foundation of their friendship, and merit the title to their favour; delighting rather to be thought good than great; just in all their dealings; moderate in their pleasures; not solicitous for a place because they want it, but because the place wants them.

> But still conscious that he over-rated the number of those chosen few, he concentrated the virtues and wisdom of the whole species into one man, A PATRIOT KING, whom he confidered as born to form the happiness and glory of England, under whose government the head, and all the members, should be united in one common cause, and animated by one common spirit.

> In drawing this chimerical character, he laid down positions no less chimercal. He supposed that all distinctions of party, all cabals for favour, and all jealoufy in individuals pofferfing, or contending for power, should be entirely suppressed by the wifdom and virtue of one man, whom he calls a fort of standing miracle; and that a whole nation should be so perfect in judgment, and just in practice, as to acknowledge that they were made happy by fuch exertions. In this extraordinary attempt to reconcile the ideas of a government by prerogative with those of liberty and happiness, he endeavours

endeavours to bribe the imagination instead of convincing the judgment, by an artificial and brilliant 1725 to 1726. display of all those scenes of splendor and domestic felicity which are so lavishly and exquisitely pourtrayed in the Cyropædia of Xenophon, and Fenelon's Telemachus; scenes which adorn the page of the speculative philosopher, but must be considered as mere puerilities from a practical politician.

In giving these reveries to the public, he employed a specious philosophical jargon, then novel, and calculated to make an impression on ignorant minds; since become more common, and justly exploded, as the cant of hypocrify or enthusiasm. Its pretensions were founded on candour, liberality of sentiment, universal philanthropy, and a tender

concern for the happiness of posterity.

He described himself as labouring to reinfuse the spirit of liberty, to reform the morals, and to raise the sentiments of the people. He dwelt with rapture on the ideas of perfect government, and the completion of focial happiness. He talked of the moral system of the world, the system of infinite wisdom, the universal law of reason, of moral duty drawn from the constitution of human nature, of the general fitness of things. He maintained that the shortest and easiest method of arriving at real knowledge, was to trace back government to the first good principles on which it is founded; principles and measures of conduct founded on true propositions, all of which are obvious, many of them selfevident; principles laid in the system of human nature, drawn from that source from whence all the duties of public and private morality must be derived. He boafted B B 3

Period III. boafted of the noble prerogative of governing a fociety 1720 to 1727, of freemen by a constitution founded on the eternal rules of right reason, and directed to promote the happiness of the whole, and every individual. After some trite observations, that the good of the people is the ultimate and true end of government, and that without liberty no happiness can be enjoyed by society, he styles the king the first servant of the people, considers his right as a trust, and their's, which he calls an indefeasible

right, as a property.

From the numberless contradictions and political abfurdities to be found in almost every page of his works, I shall select two instances which relate to Walpole. After having described the hideous monster, corruption, and shewn that unless it was annihilated it would fwallow up the constitution, and destroy those liberties without which no happiness could be enjoyed by fociety; after displaying the necessity of shutting up with all the bars and bolts of law, the principal entries through which the torrents of corruption have been let in upon us, he adds, I fay the principal entries, because, however it may appear in mere speculation, I think it would not be found in practice to be possible, no nor Eligible neither, to shut them up ALL.

After having, in a long feries of invectives, reprobated in every particular, and reproached the corruption of Walpole, ascribed to that all his power in the cabinet, and in the fenate, branded him with the names of high prieft, first missionary, and treasurer of corruption, he acknowledges that the escendency he had acquired could not be attributed to

his superiority of parts, OR HIS CLUMSY TALENT OF Chapter 25.

BRIBERY alone, but that his long continuance in office 1725 to 1726.

must be ascribed to the faintness and indecisiveness of opposition.

In fact, the noble writer himself lived to see the impracticability of his own speculative doctrines. He therefore looked forward to what he called better times, and left his visionary project as a legacy to posterity; I turn myself, he says, from the generation that is going off, to the generation that is coming on the stage. Thus in a few words he confessed, that all his writings, and all his labours were repugnant to the constitution of human nature, as exhibited by his own experience. Fortunately, the baneful effects of Bolingbroke's influence were counteracted by the known profligacy of his principles, and the unpopularity of his character. For the public prejudice against him was so great, that Pulteney recommended his departure from England, because his co-operation rendered their cause less respectable \*.

His speculative effusions, notwithstanding their splendour of diction and graces of style, are not consulted as containing just axioms or practical precepts; except by those who wish to avail themselves of the laxity of his political tenets, and his affectation of recurring to first principles and abstract doctrines, for the purpose of substituting a capricious and theoretical system, in the place of a well defined and limited government .

<sup>\*</sup> Lord Bolingbroke to Sir William Wyndham, July 23, 1739. Correspondence, Period VII.

<sup>†</sup> The works of Bolingbroke, principally alluded to, are The Occafional Writer, his Essays in the *Crastsman*, which were afterwards collected and re-published under the Titles of a *Differtation on Particle* 

## CHAPTER THE TWENTY-SIXTH:

## 1723-1725.

Disturbances in Ireland, occasioned by Wood's Patent.—Public and secret History of that Transaction.—Character of Lord Midleton.—His Disagreement with the Duke of Grafton—Indiscreet Proceedings of Government.—Embarrassments and Conduct of Walpole.—Duke of Grafton recalled, and Lord Carteret appointed Lord Lieutenant.—Resignation of Lord Midleton.—Surrender of the Patent.—Tranquillity restored.—Tumults in Scotland, on levying the Malt Tax.—Prudent Conduct of Walpole.—Character and Services of the Earl of Ilay.

Period III. 1720 to 1727. THE year 1725 teemed with events of the highest importance to the interest and security of England, both in regard to foreign and domestic affairs, and gave sufficient employment to the cabinet. The foreign affairs were distinguished by the celebrated treaties of Vienna and Hanover; the domestic tranquillity was interrupted by disturbances in Ireland, arising from Wood's patent of coinage, and tumults in Scotland, both of which were suppressed by the prudence and vigour of Walpole.

No minister ever suffered more abuse for the indiscretion and violence of others, than Sir Robert Walpole. The tumults in Scotland, on account of the duty on malt, and the disturbances in Ireland, relating to Wood's patent, because they

with a farcastical dedication to Sir Robert Walpole, and Oldcastle's Remarks on the History of England; Letters on the Spirit of Patriotism, on the Idea of a Patriot King, &c. His posthumous Letters on the Study of History, have been ably refuted in Horace Walpole's Answer, and in Leiand's Resections.

happened under his administration, were solely at- Chapter 25. tributed to his misconduct; whereas the duty on 1723 to 1723 malt was carried in the house of commons by the country gentlemen, in opposition to his sentiments; and the grant of Wood's patent, was an unfortunate legacy left by the earl of Sunderland, in which he had no other share than in passing it when he was at the head of the treasury.

To judge by the accounts generally given of that transaction, it would appear a monster of despotism and fraud, that the halfpence were desicient in weight and goodness, and that the circulation of them would have been followed by the total ruin of Ireland.

In fact, the inimitable humour of Swift, which places the kingdom on one fide, and William Wood on the other, has mifled our judgment and captivated our imagination; and most persons have formed their opinion from his Drapier's Letters and satirical poems, rather than from authentic documents or well attested sacts. The simple harrative of this transaction, stripped of the exaggerated dress in which the malignant wit of the author has invested it, is reduced to a short compass.

There being great deficiency of copper currency Grant of in Ireland, the king, in virtue of his prerogative, Wood's pagranted to William Wood, a patent for coining farthings and halfpence, to the value of £.100,000 fterling, on certain terms which the patentee was bound to follow. William Wood, who in the party language of Swift is ridiculed under the de-

nomination

Period III. nomination of a hardware man and a low mechanic, 1720 to 1727 was a great proprietor and renter of iron works in England. He had a lease of all the mines on the crown lands in thirty-nine counties, was proprietor of several iron and copper works, and carried on, to a very considerable amount, manufactures for the different preparations of those metals. Among many proposals submitted to government, that which he delivered was accepted, and was considered by all persons of judgment or capacity, not biassed by party or national prejudice, as beneficial to Ireland.

Ferment in Ireland. But the natives did not fee it in so favourable a light, and before the money was circulated, a general ferment was excited. The oftensible causes of complaint were derived from the consideration, that the king had treated Ireland as a dependant kingdom; that the patent was granted to a person who was not a native, that the coin was stamped in England, and that as a great profit was likely to be derived, the benefit should have principally accerued to the public. All the attempts of the duke of Grafton, then lord lieutenant, to subdue the public aversion were ineffectual. The spirit of opposition seized all orders of men, and even many of the king's servants, who held the chief places under his administration.

Inflamed by national zeal, the two houses passed addresses to the crown accusing the patentee of fraud and deceit, asserting that the terms of the

<sup>\*</sup> Anderson's Commerce, vol. III. p. 124.

<sup>†</sup> See Primate Boulter's Letters.

patent were infringed both in the quantity and chapter 26. quality of the coin, that the circulation of the half- 1723 to 1725. pence would be highly prejudicial to the revenue. destructive of the commerce, and of most dangerous consequence to the rights and properties of the fubjects: the commons, with an abfurdity and effrontery hardly credible, declared, that even had the terms of the patent been complied with, the nation would have suffered a loss at least of one hundred and fifty per cent! and indeed the whole clamour rested on partial or ignorant representations. It was not at that time expected or dwelt on as a matter of speculative propriety, that the weight of the copper coin should be adequate to its circulating value; the affertion that Wood had carried on notorious frauds and deceits in the coinage, as advanced by Swift, and that the intrinsic was not equal to one eighth of the nominal value. was proved to be false by an assay made at the mint, under Sir Isaac Newton, and his two affociates, men of no less honour than capacity, the result of which was, that in weight, goodness, and fineness, it rather exceeded than fell short of the conditions of the patent.

But the clamour, however unjust, was raised, and became general; and it was a necessary act of prudence, not to increase the ferment, by forcing upon a nation what was considered as unjust and fraudulent. Lord Carteret, who succeeded the duke of Grafton in the office of lord lieutenant, failed no less than his predecessor, in all his endeavours to obtain the introduction of the copper money.

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Surrender of the Patent.

Secret history of the transaction.

Period III. money. The patent was furrendered, and tran-1720 to 1727. quillity restored. Wood, as an indemnification for the loss he had fustained, received pensions to the amount of f. 3,000 a year for eight years \*.

Such is the public history of Wood's patent; and it is difficult to conceive by what means or by what intrigues this simple transaction, calculated for the benefit of Ireland, and in which not a fingle right was infringed, or a fingle grievance inflicted, could be fo mifunderstood and perverted, as to create a general ferment, and nearly to overthrow the administration of Townshend and Walpole. The fecret hiftory of this event, which the documents, under my inspection, enable me to give, will affift in tracing the motives and causes which gave rife to the diffurbances, and finally occasioned the furrender of the patent.

The emoluments arising from the disposal of the patent for fupplying Ireland with copper coin, were given by Sunderland to the duchess of Kendal, who fold it to Wood. Sunderland had warmly recommended it to his friend the duke of Bolton. who was at that time lord lieutenant; but he met with fo much difficulty in his attempts to countenance and support the project under hand, that he had neither courage or inclination to propose a fcheme which he forefaw would greatly embarrass his administration. On his death, the duke of Grafton was promoted to that high office, at the recommendation of Walpole; he confented to

bring it forward, and was promifed the support of Chapter 26. the king's friends in Ireland.

Walpole, on succeeding Sunderland at the head Walpole's reof the treasury, instantly saw and appreciated the luctance. difficulties in which this transaction would involve him; and with as much frankness as his situation at that time would permit, remonstrated against the grant, as likely to become unpopular; but being unwilling to offend the duchess of Kendal, the extent of whose influence over the king he had unfortunately experienced, reluctantly submitted to what he could not prevent, and employed every means in his power to remedy the abuses and obviate the difficulties. He took the advice of the attorney and folicitor general, obtained the ratification of the lord chancellor of England, and by proper affays at the mint, fecured the execution of the terms stipulated by the patent, which at length passed the usual forms, and was fent to the lord lieutenant for the purpose of being put into execution.

When the duke of Grafton returned to Ireland Duke of Grafin August 1723, things were in a state very diffe-tenant. rent from that in which they had been erroneously represented to him by the English cabinet. found a ferment rifing in the nation; a general aversion to the patent; and a most decided oppofition from those who, as he had reason to believe, had promifed their warmest support. The character and conduct of the duke of Grafton, were not calculated to conciliate parties, or to restore union and harmony in a country like Ireland, distracted

A COLUMN

with troubles, and abounding with persons disaf-1720 to 1727. fected to the English government. He was a nobleman of high honour and difinterested probity: but proud and imperious, fretful and choleric, and highly conscious of his dignified situation. Though by no means deficient in abilities, yet he did not possess sufficient skill and address to guide the helm of state in a difficult period: he was well characterised by his friend, Walpole, as a fair weather pilot, that did not know how to act, when the first form arose.

character of

Opposition and The success of the measure was principally imlord Midleton, peded by the unexpected and inflexible opposition of lord chancellor Midleton, who has on that account, incurred the bitter reproaches of Walpole, Townshend, and the duke of Grafton, in their correspondence with each other. Upon a candid review of his conduct, however, it appears that he was actuated by no improper motives, but, in common with many other persons in Ireland, considered the plan imprudently introduced, and inimical to the true interests of the country. The private letters which paffed between him, his brother, and fon, and which I am enabled to lay before the public, will afford a clear explanation of his motives; and a comparison of them with those of the two ministers, and of the duke of Grafton, relieve the characters of each party from much of that obloquy which flowed from the rage of discordant politics.

'Alan Brodrick\*, descended from an illustrious

<sup>\*</sup> Lodge's Irish Peerage, Communications from the honourable William Brodrick,

family, whose ancestors may be traced from the Chapter 26. conquest, was second fon of Sir Saint John Bro- 1723 to 1725. drick, knight, of Richmond in Yorkshire, and of Wandsworth, who obtained a grant of lands, in the county of Monaghan, during the government of Oliver Cromwell. He performed fuch effential fervices in affifting the restoration, that he procured a farther grant of a large estate in the county of Corke, and obtained a charter from Charles the Second, for the town of Midleton to return two members to parliament.

Alan was bred up to the law, and rofe to fuch eminence in that profession, that in 1695, he was appointed folicitor general, and being chosen member for the city of Corke in 1703, he was unanimoufly elected speaker of the house of commons. attached himself to the Whigs, and having opposed some bills which were favoured by the duke of Ormond, lord lieutenant, he was removed from the place of folicitor general. In 1707, when the Whig administration was formed, he was made attorney general, and in 1709, chief justice of the Queen's Bench; but was removed in 1711, when the Tories came into power. He was chosen, in 1713, member for the county of Corke, and again elected speaker by the Whigs, in opposition to the castle interest.

During the last years of queen Anne, he proved his faithful attachment to the religion and constitution, by promoting the fuccession of the house of Hanover, and was highly instrumental in counteracting the cabals of those who were inclined to restore.

Period III.

restore the Pretender. In reward for these eminent 1720 to 1727 fervices, he was, at the accession of George the First, nominated chancellor of Ireland, in 1715 was created a peer, by the title of baron Brodrick, and in 1717, advanced to the dignity of viscount Midleton. In the fame year he was also chosen member of the British Parliament for Midhurst in Suffex, which borough he continued to reprefent till his death. When the functions of his high office did not render his presence necessary in Ireland, his eloquence and abilities were useful in supporting the measures of government in England.

As he confidered himself obliged to Sunderland for his promotion to an Irish peerage, he attached himself to the party of that minister. But neither his obligation or interest could induce him to swerve from his duty to his country, or to support administration in measures which he disapproved. He refifted all the folicitations, offers, and menaces of Sunderland, to vote in favour of the peerage bill, and he perfifted in opposition to the request of the lord lieutenant, and the orders of the fovereign. The minutes \* of his conversations with Sunderland and others on that occasion, and the rules which he laid down for his conduct, afford evident proofs of his integrity and firmness, and do honour to his His refusal in this instance offended Sunderland, and nothing but the difficulty of finding a proper fuccessor for the office of lord chancel-\* lor prevented his difgrace. He was treated how-

<sup>\*</sup> Correspondence. Article Peerage Bill.

ever, with fo much coldness and difregard, that Chapter 26. for three years he expected every moment to be dif- 1723 to 1725. miffed; a fituation of uncertainty, which he bore

with unexampled patience and dignity.

On the death of Sunderland, he attached himfelf to Carteret, in opposition to Townshend and Walpole. He joined to a natural warmth and vehemence of temper, which he himself was the first to acknowledge, an high consciousness of his own talents and influence, which produced an unbending pertinacity of opinion, and a display, often oftentatious, of his own fervices and importance. He possessed great dignity of sentiment, and a fpirit fo independent, that he would not permit even his personal esteem for the king to bias his conduct in the duties of his high station; he confidered the falary of office his due for his exertions as chancellor, and thought himself at liberty to act, vote, and speak in parliament (as a lord) just in the fame manner while he was on the woolfack, as he would have done on one of the benches\*.

The warmth of his temper was increased by the

still greater warmth of his brother and fon.

His elder brother, Thomas Brodrick, had from Character of his first entrance into life, uniformly promoted the Thomas Bro-Protestant succession. He was a member of the privy council to king William, and fat in the English parliament for the borough of Stockbridge, and afterwards for Guildford; and in the Irish parliament for the county of Corke. In confideration

<sup>\*</sup> See Correspondence.

Period III. 1720 to 1727. of his fervices, he was by the Whig administration made comptroller of the falt duties, and joint comptroller of the army with Sir Philip Meadows; which places he refigned in 1711, when the Tories came into power. On the accession of George the First, he was again appointed a member of the privy council, but was not gratified with any place. As chairman of the fecret committee for the examination of the South Sea affairs, he acquired great popularity, and stood forth one of the warmest advocates for severe and rigorous measures against the directors, and those who had in any degree promoted the South Sea scheme. As a Whig, he was ftrongly attached to the principles of that party; generally supported government, but not uniformly; poffeffed great weight among the country gentlemen inclined to the Whig interest, and not unfrequently proposed and carried questions in opposition to the known fentiments of the minister. He was held in high estimation by the king, as the head of a family which had ever shewn an unabated zeal in favour of his fuccession: had been courted by Sunderland, and after his death, by Carteret and Roxburgh. He was a man of high spirit and probity; but his temper was violent, captious, and overbearing.

Character of Saint John Brodrick. Saint John Brodrick, son of lord Midleton, was not deficient in talents and knowledge; possessed great skill in debating, which he managed with good effect in the Irish house of commons, where his father's advice and interest rendered him highly respected. He was presumptuous and consident;

fanguine

fanguine in his hopes, and vehement in his pursuits, Chapter 26. affecting great forefight, fagacity and difcernment. 1723 to 1725. He was highly irritable, readily provoked, but open to flattery and easy of delusion. He was first chosen a member of the Irish parliament for the borough of Midleton, and afterwards represented, until his death, the city of Corke. He was elected in 1721, and in the new parliament, which affembled in 1722, for Beralston, in Devonshire.

Both the brother and fon caballed with lord Carte-Their antiparet, and feem to have conceived a violent antipathy to Walagainst Walpole, which was heightened by his opposition to the bill for permitting the importation of Irish calicoes. The proud consciousness entertained by lord Midleton of his abilities and influence in Ireland, was increased by accounts transmitted from his brother and fon, of the king's high fense of the services rendered by the whole family, and by Carteret's repeated declarations, that he alone was capable of governing Ireland. His opposition received an additional impulse from the fanguine representations of his fon, that the power of Walpole was declining, and a full conviction that the combination of Cadogan, Carteret, and Roxburgh, would triumph in the cabinet.

An unfortunate mifunderstanding had taken Misunderplace between the duke of Grafton and lord Midle-tween Grafton ton, who, in the capacity of one of the lords juf- and Midleton. tices, had directed the administration of affairs, and conscious of his influence in the two houses of parliament, expected to retain the same power on the arrival of the new lord lieutenant. The duke of Grafton, however, was by no means inclined to place

Period III. implicit confidence in the chancellor, who had

1720 to 1727. shewn so many instances of an intractable temper, and hostility to Walpole. He courted the oppofite party in the cabinet, and particularly confulted his competitor for authority, William Conolly, speaker of the house of commons, by whom he was almost implicitly directed. On his arrival in Ireland in 1723, he was offended at the chancellor, for difrespectful behaviour, and bitterly complained to the archbishop of Dublin, who being inimical to Wood's patent, did not conceal, or perhaps exaggerated the diffatisfaction of the lord lieutenant. The conduct of lord Midleton in parliament was fo offensive to the duke of Grafton, that he connived at the passing of a vote of censure in the house of lords, for delays of justice, occasioned by his absence from Ireland. This infult, folely ascribed by lord Midleton to the duke of Grafton, increased the misunderstanding; and the duke peremptorily infifted on his exclusion from the number of lords justices during his absence.

Dec. 23. 1723.

> These jealousies, fomented by Carteret, laid the foundation of a successful opposition to the introduction of Wood's coinage, which opposition was aided by the concurrence of indifcreet and unpopular proceedings.

Causes of the unpopularity of the patent.

Great discredit was thrown upon the measure, by a report, industriously circulated, that the profits of the patent were to be shared between Wood and the duchess of Kendal. This fact was insidiously communicated by Carteret, to Alan Brodrick, fecond fon of lord Midleton, during his vifit

at Hanover, transmitted by him to his friends in Chapter 26. Dublin, and foon made public by various allusions of Swift, in his writings and political ballads, in one of which he fays:

" When late a feminine magician,

" Join'd with a brazen politician,

" Expos'd, to blind a nation's eyes,

" A parchment of prodigious fize \*."

The indifcretion of Wood, and of his friends in Indifcretion of Ireland, was also detrimental to his cause. They wood, exaggerated the quantity of coin to be iffued, and the gains which would accrue to the patentee, and made repeated boasts of his power and influence in the English cabinet. Wood himself offended the privy council, by observing, that if a proclamation was necessary, he could have it, or any thing that was wanting to inforce the currency of his coin; and that the complaints and remonstrances were not intended against him, but against the king and ministry for making the grant.

The misconduct of government was still greater, and of government. The patent was passed without formally consulting ment. The patent was passed without formally consulting either the lord lieutenant or privy council, and its contents were concealed in Ireland: by these means exaggerated rumours of its evil tendency were diffused, which were universally credited, and not found to be false until their wide circulation had made a deep impression on the public mind, which it was impossible to essage. The lord lieutenant landed on the 13th of August.

A Simile on our Want of Silver, and the only Way to remedy it.

Period III. 1720 to 1727.

Assuming the reins of government, he publicly declared, that he was perfectly unconcerned in the event, that the patent was passed before he was made acquainted that it was in agitation, and that he had no instructions about it from the king or the ministry. On the 13th of September, an address was presented from both houses, requesting information concerning the patent. In his answer, returned the 14th, he declared that he had neither the patent, nor any copy, nor even any paper which would give them any fatisfaction; but on the 16th, when the house was actually affembled with a view to make a strong remonstrance on the subject, Hopkins, the fecretary to the lord lieutenant, informed the speaker, that a person attended without with the exemplification of the patent, which, by miftake, had been delivered to the lord lieutenant's fervant, instead of his private secretary, and mislaid.

Even after the irrefiftible opposition which shewed itself in parliament, no attempts were made to soften or conciliate those members who were against the patent; on the contrary, some were received at the castle with coldness; others were treated with marks of indignity; and Saint John Brodrick was slighted and offended. By these means, the lord lieutenant precluded all confidential intercourse with the chancellor and his friends, who were prevented from explaining the motives of their conduct, and undeceiving him in those points in which he had been misinformed.

Conduct of Walpole.

The conduct of Walpole himself was not at first marked with his usual caution. He suffered the

lord lieutenant to depart without specific instruc- Chapter 26. tions in what manner he was to act, should the par- 1723 to 1725. liament oppose the introduction of the coinage. He trusted too much to the representations of those who were friends to government, and who were either ignorant of the real fituation of affairs, or unwilling to offend, by transmitting disagreeable truths which they well knew would be communicated by others. He did not fufficiently appreciate the great influence of the chancellor and his family in both houses of parliament, and when that influence appeared predominant, he attributed the strength of opposition folely to the combination of the Brodricks with lord Carteret. He bitterly accused lord Midleton of treachery and low cunning, of having made, in his speeches, distinctions between the king and his ministers, of caballing with Carteret, Cadogan, and Roxburgh, and of purfuing that line of conduct, because he was of opinion the opposite party would gain the ascendancy in the He did not believe the disturbances to be cabinet. fo ferious as they were represented, nor was he fatisfied with the duke of Grafton's conduct, as being folely directed by Conolly, but declared that the part acted by Conolly, almost excused what the Brodricks had done\*.

Notwithstanding this confession, he resolved to fupport the duke of Grafton in his resentment against the chancellor, and obtained from the king a promise, that he should be removed whenever it

<sup>\*</sup> Correspondence.

Period III.

was thought expedient, and the formal notification 1720 to 1727. was made by lord Carteret to the lord lieutenant. But his removal was confidered at the present moment impracticable, by the temper and fituation of Ireland, and by the influence of lord Midleton's friends in the British cabinet.

> Carteret complained to the king, that his majefty's name and authority had been used to gratify the private pique and refentment of the lord lieutenant against the chancellor; imputed the disturbances of Ireland principally to that fource, and induced the king to declare that those ought to be employed who were most capable of ferving him. Thomas Brodrick, in an audience of the king, expostulated against the proposed indignity of excluding his brother from the lift of lords juftices, proved the weakness of the duke of Grafton's government, and the preponderancy of the chancellor's party, which fufficiently appeared from the vote of congratulation, paffed by the commons, in favour of lord Midleton, contrary to the avowed influence of the lord lieutenant. This remonstrance effectually convinced the king of the impropriety of the measures which had been hitherto purfued, and irritated him to fuch a degree, that Walpole became ashamed and uneasy at the conduct of the lord lieutenant, which brought him into the greatest difficulties he had ever experienced. He discovered that he had been deceived by the misrepresentations sent from Ireland; he found that lord Midleton had great power and influence, and could not be dispensed with in the formation of a cabinet.

> > Refolved

Resolved to withdraw his support from the duke of Chapter 26. Grafton, and effect his removal, he had determined 1723 to 1725. to obtain the appointment either for the duke of Bolton, or the duke of Dorfet; and the arrangement was on the point of being made, when the duke of Argyle embarraffed him, by claiming that high dignity for himself. This unexpected demand fuspended the execution of his plan, and together with the increasing ferment in Ireland, rendered it expedient to adopt a new line of conduct. He found that a question of the highest consequence was involved in this dispute, no less than the independence of Ireland; a favourite topic, urged by Molineux, promoted by the archbishop of Dublin, and ably supported by Swift, in his Drapier's Letters, and other publications. He was too prudent to fuffer this delicate subject to be difcussed in parliament. He held frequent conferences with Saint John Brodrick, who had taken his feat in the English parliament, attentively listened to his accounts of the proceedings, confessed that he had been grofsly mifled, fpoke in terms of the highest respect of the chancellor's character and talents, infinuated that the duke of Grafton was about to be recalled, and was only continued in his post until a proper successor could be appointed; disclaimed any intention of excluding lord Midleton from being one of the lords justices, and succeeded fo far as to foften, in some measure, the violent afperity which had long diftinguished that family.

Period III.
1720 to 1727.
Carteret lord
Lieutenant.

At this period the ftruggle \* in the cabinet. which terminated in the triumph of Townshend and Walpole, was finally decided. It was their original intention to remove Carteret intirely, but the embarrassiment arising from the claim of the duke of Argyle, and the great difficulty of managing Ireland, rendered it necessary to find a person who would promote the patent, and be likely to perfuade lord Midleton, and those who acted with him, to foften their opposition. In this dilemma, lord Carteret was removed from the office of fecretary of state to the lord lieutenancy of Ireland. Lord Midleton continued in the office of chancellor, was constituted one of the lords justices, and Saint John Brodrick was nominated a member of the privy council,

Walpole's

At the same time every effort was made to conciliate the people of Ireland, and to induce them to receive the currency. A report was drawn up by Walpole †, and submitted to the king in council. After fully justifying Wood from the charge of not having sulfilled the terms of his contract, and shewing that his halfpence exceeded in value and weight the conditions required in the patent, it recommended to the king, that instead of £. 100,000, Wood should be permitted to import into Ireland only £. 40,000, to be current to such as voluntarily pleased to accept them: the king sent his order in conformity to this advice.

See chapter 24.

<sup>†</sup> The original is in Sir Robert Walpole's hand writing, among the Orford Papers.

The report, though drawn up with great pre- Chapter 26. cifion and clearness, made no impression. It was 1723 to 1725 answered by Swift in the Drapier's Letters; his Increasing dehardy affertions and false representations were im-turbances. plicitly believed, and the popular outcry was fo violent, that the lords justices refused to iffue the orders for the circulation of the coin. A general panic feized even the king's best friends, who were apprehensive of popular commotions. People of all descriptions and parties flocked in crouds to the bankers to demand their money, and drew their notes with an express condition to be paid in gold or filver. The publishers of the most treafonable pamphlets escaped with impunity, provided Wood and his patent were introduced into the work. The grand juries could fcarcely be induced to find any bill against such delinquents; no witnesses in the prosecution were safe in their persons; and no juries were inclined, or if inclined could venture, to find them guilty \*. Not content with refusing to bring in a bill of indictment against the printer of the Drapier's Letters, the grand jury of Dublin, in a presentment drawn up by Swift, presented all persons as enemies to the government, who should endeavour, by fraud or otherwise, to impose Wood's halfpence on the people.

In this alarming state of affairs, Walpole acted Moderation of with becoming moderation: he saw that it would be Walpole.

<sup>\*</sup> Primate Boulter's Letters.

Period III. madnefs to attempt introducing the copper currency 1720 to 1727. by force; that to repeat the orders to the lords jusfices, who had declared their resolution not to obey them, would only again expose the king's honour, without the smallest hopes of fuccess: that although to permit them to continue after that refusal, would be to renounce for ever all authority of the crown, yet to remove them on this account, would increase their popularity so much, that they might be able to counteract the measures of government \*. He refolved, therefore, to act a temporifing part; to fend over lord Carteret without a moment's delay to bring the people gradually to a proper temper; to sufpend or surrender the patent as circumstances required; and, after the reftoration of tranquillity, to remove the chancellor, and appoint new lords justices, of whom, at least the majority should be natives of England.

Motives of duct.

On his arrival in Ireland, Carteret found himfelf Carteret's con- in a very delicate and embarraffed fituation, and at first view his whole conduct in this transaction is mysterious and inexplicable. He had secretly opposed the patent, fomented the discontents and jealousies of lord Midleton and the Brodricks, and excited, underhand, the diffurbances in Ireland. In the frequent conferences which he held with Thomas and Saint John Brodrick, accounts of which were transmitted to lord Midleton, he ap-

<sup>\*</sup> Correspondence.

peared so hostile to the patent, that Saint John Chapter 26. Brodrick fays of him, "Lord Carteret is perfectly 1723 to 1725 free from all suspicion of being concerned in, or wishing well to this base project \*;" and lord Midleton fuspected that Wood's patent would be infifted on by Walpole, merely to embarrass lord Carteret, and create difficulties in his administration . But he had no fooner taken upon him the office of lord lieutenant, than he promoted the introduction of the copper coin with fo much zeal, as induced lord Midleton, who was aftonished at the change of his fentiments, to observe, that he could not have employed more industry to attain his end, even if the success of his labours would be attended with an entire restitution of the favour and authority which he formerly enjoyed.

The motives of his conduct are well explained by lord Midleton, in his letters to his brother. His fecret fentiments were strongly in favour of the patent, because it was proposed by his friend Sunderland, and he always maintained its validity as derived from the prerogative of the king, which vested in the crown the right of coining money. But with a view to embarrass Walpole and Townhend, he secretly favoured the opposition in Ireland, caballed with the Brodricks, spoke slightingly of the duke of Grafton, and infinuated that the duchess of Kendal had a share in the profits of the patent. He exagge-

<sup>\*</sup> Saint John Brodrick to lord Midleton, May 10, 1724.

<sup>†</sup> Correspondence, p. 425.

Period III. 1720 to 1727.

rated the alarm, and irritated the king by repeated representations, that the discontents in Ireland were owing to the umbrage which the duke of Grafton had given to lord Midleton. His hopes of overturning his rivals by these means were so fanguine, as induced him to acknowledge to Saint John Brodrick, that the patent was the luckiest incident that could have occurred in favour of his party in the cabinet. But he was no fooner convinced that his credit with the king was declining, and that he should be removed from the office of fecretary of state, than he prevented his total difgrace by agreeing to accept the lord lieutenancy under the promise of promoting the patent, and of prevailing with his friend lord Midleton to defift from his opposition. He confided in his own efforts and address to effect the introduction of the money, when lowered to f.,40,000; and to stop the discussion on the question concerning the independency of Ireland.

In conformity with these promises, lord Carteret employed all his address, and used the great influence which he possessed over his friend, to prevail on him to promote, or at least not to oppose the introduction of the coin. But all his efforts failed. Neither flattery, promises, or threats, had any effect; Midleton uniformly and decidedly persisted in his opposition; while he expressed the highest obligation to the lord lieutenant, he declared that his duty to his country was paramount to every other consideration, and refused to give any affistance to government, until the patent was absolutely

furrendered.

furrendered. This conduct drew upon him the Chapter 26. resentment of his former friend: he was received 1723 to 1725. at the castle with coldness and reserve, and con-Resignation of fidered as an enemy to the king's government; he lord Midleton. accordingly refigned the feals with difguft, and May 1725. Richard West, one of the king's counsel, was appointed lord chancellor in his place.

The inflexibility of lord Midleton annihilated all surrender of hopes of fuccess; the king followed the advice fug- the patent announced by the gested by Walpole, and consented to procure the lord lieutenant. furrender of the patent. In the speech from the throne, the lord lieutenant observed, "I have his " majesty's commands at the opening of this sef-" fion, to acquaint you, that an entire end is put " to the patent, formerly granted to Mr. Wood, " for the coining of copper halfpence and farthings " for this kingdom, by a full and effectual furren-" der thereof to his majesty, an exemplification of " which, under the great seal of Great Britain, shall " be laid before you. So remarkable an instance of " his majesty's royal favour and condescension, " must fill the hearts of a loyal and obedient peo-" ple with the highest sense of duty and gratitude; " and I doubt not, but you will make fuch fuit-" able returns as may convince the world, that you " are truly fensible of the happiness you have en-" joyed under his majesty's most mild and gracious " government, ever fince his accession to the throne " of these kingdoms; and that the preservation " of all our religious and civil rights must ever be

" owing, under God, to the support of his majesty's,

" government,

" government, and the fuccession in his royal Period III. 1720 to 1727. " house \*."

> The gracious manner in which the furrender of the patent was announced, in compliance with the wishes of the nation, did not satisfy the party in opposition. Their great object was to shew that the furrender was folely owing to the king, and to cast reproaches on the English administration, as if they had occasioned the disturbances, by promoting the patent, and had been uniformly averse to its

the house of lords.

Proceedings in revocation. With this view, when the primate moved an address of thanks to the lord lieutenant for his fpeech at the opening of the fession, particularly to express their grateful sense of the king's goodness and condescension for putting an end to Wood's patent, the archbishop of Dublin proposed inserting the words, "and great wisdom," observing, in justification of this amendment, that the ministers had been the authors of the patent, but that the king had been wife enough to fee the mischiefs, and accordingly revoked it. He was powerfully feconded by lord Midleton, and the motion for the amendment was carried. For the purpose of counteracting this fuggestion, the primate laid before the committee, an address somewhat differing in form from the resolution of the house, and with the omission of the words great wisdom; but the lords in opposition insisting, that the committee was bound to receive those expressions, the primate was compelled to add them. On the 23d, however, the friends of government obtained their point.

<sup>\*</sup> Historical Register, 1725.

When the report of the address from the commit- Chapter 26. tee was laid before the house, a motion was made 1723 to 1725. to leave out the obnoxious words; and after a Arenuous opposition, in which lord Midleton exerted himself with great ability and with much petulance, was carried by 21 against 12 \*.

This victory decided, in favour of government, and in the the struggle in the house of lords, and the decision of the first question in the commons, promised a fimilar iffue. An address was moved, acknowledging the king's great goodness and condescenfion in obtaining a full and effectual furrender of the patent, and expressing a grateful sense of all favours, and of the many bleffings enjoyed under his mild and gracious government. The unanimity with which this address was carried, without a fingle diffenting voice, feemed to augur a quiet and fuccessful session; but the friends of lord Midleton, amongst whom Saint John Brodrick was the most able and the most violent, excited a warm opposition, which required some time and much management before it fubfided.

When a propofal for a supply was laid before the house, it was agreed to in general terms; but the grant was delayed under various pretences. A committee being appointed to examine the public accounts, and the amount of the national debt, the statement of government was not allowed. The debt was faid to be magnified with a view to obtain a larger fum than was requifite, and it was particularly objected, that no credit was given for

<sup>\*</sup> Primate Boulter's Letters, p. 35.

Period III.

cash in the hands of the collectors, and for several 1720 to 1727. folvent branches of the revenue not yet received; various resolutions were passed, which embarrassed government, or delayed the payment of the army; a tax on falaries, profits of employment, places and penfions, was carried in opposition to the castle interest: But after some struggle, the ways and means were voted \*, and on the 8th of March the lord lieutenant put an end to this stormy fession.

1726.

The ferment having fubfided, and public confidence being restored by prudent compliances, lord Midleton quitted Ireland, and fettled in England, until the time of his death ... Carteret was permitted to retain only a nominal power; the principal authority was vested in Dr. Hugh Boulter, who had been raised from the bishoprick of Bristol, to the primacy of Ireland, and a resolution was adopted of filling the high charges of state with the natives of England, which the primate confidered as an effential requifite for the maintenance of public tranquillity, and for the eafe of those who governed in Ireland †.

\* Proceedings of the parliament in Ireland, Historical Register for 3725.

† Before his return to England, Fawkener, the printer, requested permission to dedicate the Drapier's Letters to him, as the preserver of Irish liberty, and the father of his country, but he declined it in terms

of high indignation.

It redounds, indeed, much to his honour, that although lord Midleton refused to support the patent, yet he condemned, in the strongest terms, the violent conduct of Swift, and of his patron the archbishop of Dublin, whom he represents as the two persons from whose politics and wrangling, Ireland had received more damage than it could have been in the power of its worst enemies to have brought upon it .- Lord Midleton to Thomas Brodrick, November 17, 1724. Correspondence. -Lord Midleton died in 1727.

Primate Boulter's Letters, p. 19. The contents of this chapter are principally drawn from the letters in the Orford, Townshend, Walpole, and Midleton Papers. Correspondence, Period III.

During the progress of the disturbances in Ire-Chapter 26. land, Scotland became the scene of similar agita-1723 to 1725. tions.

Since the Union, the natives of Scotland had Duty on malt objected to the payment of many taxes imposed evaded in Scotland. by the British parliament on the united kingdoms, and had shewn themselves particularly averse to the duty on malt, which they long evaded under various pretences.

The English country gentlemen were highly dis-Proposal to fatisfied with this exemption of the Scotch from a enforce it. burden which was confidered as heavy and grievous. Accordingly, when, in a committee of ways and means, the continuance of the malt tax was pro-February 7. posed, Thomas Brodrick moved to adjourn the committee, for the purpose of considering of a method for obliging Scotland to pay a proportionate part of the duty on malt. Walpole, fore-opposed by feeing the evil effects which might refult from ufing Walpole. compulsory means, opposed the motion \*; but finding the fense of the house against him, prudently suffered the adjournment to pass without a division. On the next meeting, however, of the committee, he contrived to evade any alteration in the bill, which was continued as usual for one year. But the clamours of the country gentlemen were 10th. fo violent, that in the next fession it was proposed, instead of the duties on malt in Scotland, to lay a duty of fixpence on every barrel of beer or ale;

or ale;

<sup>\*</sup> Saint John Brodrick to lord Midleton, February 8, 1723. Cor-

Period III. and the question was carried by a majority of 132 1720 to 1727. votes against 41 \*.

December. carried. Means employed to inflame the Scots.

This act had fcarcely passed before the people of Scotland were influenced by mistatements of its tendency, and by a partial representation of the relative fituations of Scotland and England. A legal argument was drawn up with much skill, put into familiar language, circulated with great activity, and had an alarming effect upon the public mind. It was thus stated: The Scots act of Charles the Second, passed in 1681. It declares that the right of fuccession to the crown shall devolve according to proximity of blood; that no difference in religion can alter or divert it; and that it is high treason, by writing, speaking, or otherwise to endeavour any alteration or diversion, or to debar the fucceffor from the immediate, actual, and free administration of the government. The only bar to the validity of this act, is the treaty of Union, which was contracted by two independent kingdoms, and was to remain in force as long, and no longer, than each fulfilled its articles. It is univerfally acknowledged by the public law of nations, and confirmed by the reason of the law which prevails in private contracts, that the violation of any material articles of a compact is a legal diffolution of the whole. The refolutions of the house of commons, which transferred the duty on malt, to a duty on beer, being contrary to the 6th and 7th articles of the Union, will diffolve that Union; the diffolution of the Union, by bringing

<sup>\*</sup> Political State for December 1724, p. 593.

the Scots act into force, instantly dethrones George Chapter 26. the First, and renders the next in succession of 1723 to 1725. the Stuart line king of Scotland. The people are released from their oath to the dissolved government, and under no obligation to obey the laws of the revenue; and the commissions of the judges who are entrusted with the execution of those laws, are become void. It was also observed, that the annals of history afford many instances where infractions of compacts, though confidered at the time of little confequence, have proved no less destructive to the party which made the encroachments, than to those who were oppressed. Israel having once revolted, upon a trifling occasion, from Judah, the feat of government, powerful in wealth and arms. could never be reduced to obedience, and became a separate kingdom. Sweden joined to Denmark by the union of Calmar, was released from its dependence by the breach of that union on the part of Denmark; and a defender was found in Gustavus Vafa, who restored liberty to his native country. The United Provinces, oppressed by taxes, and shackled in the free exercise of religion, shook off the yoke of Spain, under the powerful government of Philip the Second; the Scots gave fufficient proofs of their relistance to repeated oppressions under the reigns of Charles the Second, and James the Seventh, and they are now called upon to refift the tyranny of the minister, who keeps the king and country in chains, and is attempting to rivet a tax on this country, which is an infringePeriod III. ment of the Union, and hostile to their liberty and 1720 to 1727 independence \*.

Tumults at Glafgow.

These representations had a strong effect, and a general ferment took place, in a country which teemed with Jacobites, and where, according to the expressions of the earl of Ilay, by a long series of no-administration, the mere letter of the law had little or no effect with the people. The public difcontents broke out at Glasgow on the 21st of Tune, when the commissioners of the excise were preparing to do their duty, and the people threatened to stone them if they attempted to visit the malt-houses. Application being made to general Wade, commander in chief of the forces in that part of Scotland, he fent two companies of foldiers, under the command of captain Bushel, for the purpose of Supporting the commissioners, and quelling any riot,

The populace affembled in confiderable numbers, repeatedly exclaiming, "Down with Wal"pole, and up with Seaforth;—the Mackensies are
"up in the north, and will soon come to our af"fistance †." They broke open and plundered
the house of Daniel Campbell, member for the
city; affaulted and drove away the troops, who
were finally compelled in their own defence to fire;
and after killing and wounding three or four, retreated in good order to Dumbarton.

General

<sup>\*</sup> Grant's Letter to Sir Robert Walpole. Orford Papers.

<sup>†</sup> General Wade's Letter to the duke of Newcastle, July 1, 1726. Walpole Papers.

General Wade, informed of these events, march- Chapter 26. ed with a large body of troops to Glasgow, and 1723 to 1725. accompanied by Duncan Forbes, the lord advocate of Scotland, took quiet possession of the city; apprehended fome of the rioters, arrested the magistrates, and conveyed them prisoners to Edinburgh, for being acceffary, or at least for having connived at the tumults, and taken no pains to discover the rioters. They were tried by the lords justiciaries; acquitted, and immediately discharged. Captain Bushel, who had been arraigned for murder, according to the forms of law, was convicted and condemned; but as the orders by which he commanded his troops to fire, had been dictated by felf-defence, he was pardoned, and promoted in the fervice. The rioters at Glasgow were brought to trial; yet fuch was the lenity of government, that four only, after being fcourged, were fentenced to transportation, and one woman was condemned to stand thrice in the pillory.

Although this tumult at Glasgow, and the riots Confederacy which took place in a few other towns were fup- Edinburgh. pressed, yet they gave rise to an affair at Edinburgh, which threatened the most ferious consequences. The magistrates of Glasgow had been accompanied to Edinburgh by a large body of the inhabitants, who reproached the people for betray." ing the interests of their country; and upbraided them, that by fubmitting to the law, they would become the instruments of wreathing about their necks the insupportable bonds of the malt

tax.

Period III.

tax \*. The acquittal of the magistrates being con-1720 to 1727. fidered as a victory over government, the popular discontents increased to an alarming degree. The brewers entered into a combination not to give fecurity for the discharge of the new duty, and not to brew if they were judicially called upon for payment. All the maltsters in Scotland depended on this combination of the Edinburgh brewers, who were confidered as the champions of Scottish · liberty +.

> The cause of the brewers was highly popular among all ranks and diffinctions of men, not only of those who were not employed by Government, but even of those who were invested with authority, Some of the lords justiciaries were timid, or lukewarm, others fecretly averse to the imposition of the tax; while the justices of the peace, and the magistrates of the principal towns, openly expressed their disapprobation.

> But the greatest obstruction arose from the conduct of the duke of Roxburgh, fecretary of state for Scotland. Strongly attached to Carteret and Cadogan, he had joined them in attempting to remove Townshend and Walpole; and aware that his difmission had been recommended to the king on the removal of Carteret, still continued to augment the division in the cabinet. He now fecretly encouraged the discontents in Scotland, and counteracted or delayed the orders of government, which, in virtue of his office, were

<sup>\*</sup> Letter from John Campbell to Sir Robert Walpole. Correspon-

<sup>†</sup> Letter from the earl of Ilay to Mr. Stewart, Correspondence.

iffued by him. A general opinion also prevailed, that a firm resolution to resist the new imposts with unabating zeal, would be attended with a success similar to the event of the opposition which had been recently made in Ireland to Wood's coinage, where the unanimous voice of the country was on the eve of obtaining from government the furrender of the patent.

The brewers were still farther encouraged by rumours industriously circulated by persons of credit and consequence, that these severe measures were adopted by the regency, contrary to the inclinations of the king, only for the purpose of supporting Walpole; that in the next session of parliament he would be disgraced; that the chief power would be lodged in the hands of Pulteney, in conjunction with the duke of Roxburgh; and that those who now submitted would be exposed to the resentment of the new administration, and the fury of the populace.

In this dilemma, the minister, with the appro-Mission of the bation of the regency, deputed Archibald, earl of lay. Ilay, lord keeper of the privy seal in Scotland, to Edinburgh, armed with full powers from government, and privately instructed by Walpole, who tempered the violent orders sent from Hanover. The removal of the duke of Roxburgh from the office of secretary of state, which was adopted at the earnest request of Walpole, soon convinced the deluded people, that they had been imposed upon by the enemies of government, in supposing the minister disagreeable to the king, and that his opponents

would

Period III. would be triumphant. General Wade, in pur-1720 to 1727 fuance of the act of parliament passed in the preceding year, difarmed the highlanders of the most disaffected clans, and the inhabitants of the Isles of Mull and Sky. The spirit and zeal of lord Ilay, broke the combination at Edinburgh, and restored tranquillity; to him Walpole wholly attributed the final suppression of the riots: and the warm praises of his conduct, which he transmitted to the king, do honour to the exertions of the one, and to the gratitude of the other.

> From this period ford Ilay became the person in whom Walpole implicitly confided for the management of the Scottish affairs, which he conducted with great ability and prudence, and with fo much real authority, that he was called the king of Scotland. The rife, progrefs, and termination of these tumults, are minutely related in the correspondence which passed between Sir Robert Walpole, lord Townshend, and the earl of Ilay \*.

Character of the earl of Hay.

Archibald, earl of Ilay, and afterwards duke of Argyle, on the death of his brother John, was fecond fon of Archibald earl of Argyle. He was born at Ham-House, at Petersham, in 1682, educated at Eton, and refided in England until he was about feventeen years of age, when he was fent to the university of Glasgow. Being a younger brother, with a small fortune, he went to Utrecht,

<sup>\*</sup> Article, Tumults of Scotland.

and made a confiderable proficiency in the civil Chapter 26. law, with a defign to practife in that line. But 1723 to 1725. his father being created a duke, he renounced this intention, and embraced the profession of arms. He was, when very young, appointed colonel of the 36th regiment of foot, and governor of Dumbarton castle. But finding himself more qualified for a statesman than a soldier, he quitted the army, and with his usual affiduity, employed himself in the acquisition of political knowledge. In 1705, he was appointed lord register of Scotland, and in the ensuing year, was nominated one of the commissioners for settling the Union: in confideration of his fervices, he was created earl of Ilay, and on the conclusion of the treaty, was chosen one of the fixteen peers of Scotland, and constantly elected in every future parliament, till his death, excepting that which affembled in 1713. His exclusion at that time, was owing to the zeal with which he had abetted the cause of the Whigs. and promoted the fuccession of the Protestant line. In 1710, he was made justice general of Scotland.

Although he had long renounced the profession of arms, yet when the rebellion broke out in 1715, he placed himself at the head of a corps of royalists; prevented, by his prudent conduct, general Gordon, at the head of 1,000 men, from penetrating into the Western Highlands; and raising levies, joined the duke of Argyle at Stirling, and was wounded at the battle of Dumblain. His military conduct was only a temporary exertion. His principal

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period III. principal merit confifted in his parliamentary abi1720 to 1727 lities, which were very confiderable. In his study
of the law, he had acquired acuteness of apprehension and method of arrangement. His speeches
were replete with solid arguments and keen obfervations; his language was plain and fluent, and
his manner grave and solemn. He continued invariably attached to Sir Robert Walpole, during
his long administration, and counteracted, as
much as lay in his power, the violence of his
brother's politics, when he joined opposition. In
1725 he had been nominated keeper of the privy
feal, and in 1734, he was made keeper of the
great seal, which office he held till his death \*.

Walpole, having thus, by timely concession on one hand, and by a due mixture of vigour and moderation on the other, suppressed these alarming disturbances in Ireland and Scotland, expressed, in a letter to lord Townshend, his exultation, his sense of the dissipulties from which he had been relieved, and his resolution to avoid similar embarrassiments. "I think we have once more got Scotland and Ireland quiet, if we take care to keep them so."

<sup>\*</sup> For many of these particulars, I am indebted to the obliging communications of lord Frederick Campbell.

## CHAPTER THE TWENTY-SEVENTH:

## 1725.

Diffolution of the Congress of Cambray.—Origin and Progress of the Union between the Emperor and Spain.—Treaty of Vienna.—Affairs of the North.—Alarms and Conduct of England.—Application to Parliament.

I HAVE already observed, that the quadruple al-The Emperor and Spain liance, which was concluded with a view to ter-diffatisfied minate the disputes between the Emperor and with the quathe king of Spain, equally displeased both parance. ties. Accordingly, the Emperor and Philip observed the success of the negotiations at the congress of Cambray, where attempts were forming, under the mediation of England and France, to settle the final terms of reconciliation between those two powers.

Besides many other objects in dispute, the Em-Pretensions peror was unwilling to renounce the establishment of the Emperor. of the East India company at Ostend, and was still more reluctant to bestow, according to his promise, the investiture of Parma and Tuscany on Don Carlos, from a just apprehension, that the settlement of a Spanish branch of the house of Bourbon in Italy, would endanger the security of his dominions in that country.

Philip no less eagerly insisted on the restitu- of Spain. tion of Gibraltar, which he declared had been promised to him, as the price of his accession to

Period III. the quadruple alliance, and retarded his evacua-1720 to 1727 tion of Sicily and Sardinia, until the investitures of Parma and Tuscany should be bestowed on Don Carlos. The confequence of this mutual repugnance to the terms of the quadruple alliance, was a private overture, made by Philip to the Emperor, and the mission of Ripperda to Vienna, for the purpose of adjusting the conditions of their reconciliation. While this fecret negotiation was pending, the refentment of Philip and his queen was inflamed by an event which touched their affections and interests in the tenderest point, and iustified, in some measure, the violent proceedings which they instantly adopted.

Views of the duke of Orleans.

One principal motive which had induced Philip to accede to the quadruple alliance, was the double marriage between his family and the house of Orleans. Don Carlos was affianced to Mademoifelle Beaujolois, the fourth daughter of the duke of Orleans, and the infanta Maria Therefa, daughter of Philip, by Elizabeth Farnese, was betrothed to the king of France. This arrangement was highly advantageous to both the contracting parties; for as the infanta was only four years of age, her marriage with Louis the Fifteenth, left the chance of an eventual fuccession to the crown of France still open, to which Philip and his queen, notwithstanding repeated renunciations, looked with anxious expectation; and should the young king live to confummate the marriage, the infanta of Spain would become queen of France, and their descendants sit on the throne. The regent was

no less gratified by the contemplation of his own Chapter 27. advantage refulting from the same circumstances: he confidered the precarious health of the young king, and the infancy of the bride, as placing at a very remote distance the prospect of a lineal heir: and opposing no obstruction to the hopes he entertained of reigning in his own right, for the fecurity of which, he depended on the promifed affiftance of England.

During the life of the duke of Orleans, the Return of the infanta was treated at Paris as the future queen; infanta. but after his death, the duke of Bourbon, in compliance with the general sense of the nation, and in conformity to his own interest, sent back the infanta to Spain, and affianced Louis the Fifteenth to the daughter of Stanislaus, titular king of Poland. This measure, however just or neceffary in itself, was conducted with such want of address and circumspection, that it produced an immediate rupture between France and Spain. The abbot de Livry, who was commissioned to open this delicate business, was ordered to deliver to the king of Spain, letters from Louis the Fifteenth and the duke of Bourbon, explaining, in respectful terms, the reasons which induced them to fend back the infanta. Livry, instead of fulfilling his orders, was no fooner admitted to an audience, than he threw himself on his knees, kiffed the king's hands in an agony of despair, burst into tears, and thus betrayed his errand before he offered to deliver the letters. The king and queen refused to receive them, turned from

him

Period III. him with indignation, and dismissed him from their 1720 to 1727. presence with the greatest marks of ignominy. On receiving a notification from their minister at Paris, that the infanta was to be returned, Livry and the French conful were ordered to quit Madrid in twenty-nine hours, and Philip publicly declared, that Spain could never shed sufficient blood to avenge the infult offered to his family.

Refentment of the king and queen of Spain.

On the day which succeeded the issuing of these orders, Philip, in an audience which he gave to the British embassador \*, enumerated, in an agony of refentment, all the aggravating circumstances which had accompanied this insupportable indignity offered to his daughter; he made the most bitter complaints at the manner in which it had been carried into execution; and accused the duke of Bourbon of having added duplicity to infult. He had, they both alledged, repeatedly approved the marriage with the infanta, had affured their minister at Paris, that the espousals should be celebrated on the 30th of March; he had made this declaration even after the abbot de Livry was commissioned to notify the resolution of disfolving the marriage; and then, without waiting for their answer, had published the resolution in France. The deceit and fraud of this whole proceeding, they observed, were fo flagrant as must render them contemptible in the eyes of all Europe, and of their own fubjects, did they not feel the highest resentment at such enormous ingra-

<sup>\*</sup> William Stanhope to the duke of Newcastle, 19th March, 1725. Harrington Papers.

his determination of separating himself from France for ever; he trusted this resolution would not octasion any decrease in the friendship of the king of England, but rather draw closer the bands of union and amity. He was determined to place his entire friendship and considence in him alone; and declared that he should order his plenipotentiaries at Cambray to reject the mediation of France, and to submit the final settlement of the points in dispute, between him and the Emperor, to the sole mediation of England \*:

This offer was no fooner declined by George the England re-First, as injurious to his alliance with France, mediation. than Philip transferred his resentment to Eng-

land, broke up the congress of Cambray, and sent immediate orders to baron Ripperda, to conclude the terms of a final reconciliation with the Em-

peror.

Ripperda found an eafy compliance in the Emperor, who had long been diffatisfied with George, both as king of England and elector of Hanover; as king, for his strict alliance with France, and his refusal to co-operate in excluding Don Carlos from the succession of Parma and Tuscany; and as elector, for the acquisition of Bremen and Verden, and for refusing to pay the enormous fine demanded for the investiture.

The disputes between Spain and the Emperor, Treaty of which had so long embarrassed and agitated Eu-Vienna.

rope,

<sup>\*</sup> William Stanhope to the duke of Newcastle, Madrid, March 20, 1725. Walpole and Harrington Papers.

Period III. rope, and which had been rather heightened than 1720 to 1727 composed by the congress of Cambray, were terminated in a few conferences: the two sovereigns, in whose quarrels such a deluge of blood had been shed, and such immense treasures expended, suddenly contracted an alliance for the mutual support of each other's interests, without the knowledge of those very powers who had so long and ineffectually attempted to negotiate an accommodation between them.

This alliance between the Emperor and Spain, concluded at Vienna, confifted of three separate treaties. By the first, signed on the 30th of April, the two sovereigns confirmed the articles of the quadruple alliance. Charles the Sixth renounced his pretensions to the crown of Spain; Philip acknowledged the Emperor's right to Naples and Sicily, the Milanese, and the Netherlands, and guarantied the pragmatic fanction, or the succession to the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, in the semale line.

Alarms of England.

In confequence of this fudden union, the new allies were fuspected of forming the most ambitious and dangerous projects. It was not credited that Philip the Fifth would so easily have renounced that just claim, which he could form on the Netherlands, Naples, and Milan, should the Emperor die without issue male, and have guarantied the whole Austrian succession, in the semale line, unless the Emperor, in return, had promised some secret articles in favour of the children of Philip, by Elizabeth Farnese, who wholly

wholly governed the counsels of Spain. Influence enced by these considerations, England and France were no less alarmed at the treaty of Vienna, than offended at the insult offered to them as mediating powers, in concluding that alliance without their interposition. These suspicions were soon afterwards strengthened by the indiscreet and violent expressions of Ripperda; by intelligence from the British ministers at Madrid and Paris, and from St. Saphorin, the British agent at Vienna; they were consirmed by the immediate demand of the restitution of Gibraltar, made by Spain, as the sole and indispensable condition of the continuation of peace and commerce with England.

It foon appeared that a fecond and third treaty Farther trea-had been figned on the first of May. The se-ties cond was a treaty of commerce; and supported the establishment of the Ostend company, which the maritime powers considered as contrary to the treaty of Westphalia, and as involving in its consequences the diminution of their Indian trade. The third was a treaty of mutual defence; the two sovereigns guarantied their respective territories, and engaged to support each other with all their force, should either be attacked; the king of Spain to supply sisteen men of war, 15,000 infantry, and 5,000 horse, or stipulated subsidies instead; the Emperor to bring into the field 30,000 foot and 10,000 horse.

But besides these conditions, reports of other Secret artiarticles were circulated and believed; that the cless. Emperor promised to give in marriage his daugh-

ters,

Period III. ters, the two arch duchesses, to Don Carlos and 1720 to 1727. Don Philip, the two infants of Spain, and affift in obtaining by force the restitution of Gibraltar, if good offices would not avail. In addition, it was ftrongly rumoured, and many circumstances induced the ministers to believe, that arrangements were making to place the Pretender upon the throne.

Audience of the Impérial minister.

George the First received the notification of the treaty of Vienna, from Count Staremberg, the Imperial embaffador, with an appearance of the most perfect indifference. In an audience, to which Staremberg was introduced by lord Townshend, he began by observing, that on the proposal of Ripperda, at Vienna, to commence a separate treaty, the Emperor had replied, the congress of Cambray being established for the purpose of fettling the disputes between him and the king of Spain, under the mediation of Great Britain and France, he did not fee the necessity of altering the train of the negotiation. But when Ripperda infifted (on the part of Spain) that an attempt should be made to compose their differences, the Emperor, reflecting on the difficulties derived from the mifunderstanding between Spain and France, and confidering that Spain had rejected the mediation of France, and the king of England had declined the fole mediation, conceived, that for the promotion of the public tranquillity, it was his duty to endeavour to form an amicable compromife with the king of Spain. This attempt had been crowned with fuccess, the

treaty was at length figned; he was com- Chapter 27. manded to communicate a copy of it to the king, and Fonseca, the Imperial minister at Paris, was also commissioned to lay another before the king of France. He observed, that the treaty was in all respects conformable to the quadruple alliance, and only regulated those points which remained to be adjusted. He remarked, that as the Emperor had bound himself, by the quadruple alliance, to guarantie the fuccession to the crowns of England, France, and Spain, Philip had, in conformity to the dictates of reason and justice. confented to guarantie the pragmatic fanction. His Imperial majesty, he said, trusted and hoped that the kings of Great Britain and France would also guarantie that order of succession, by acceding to the treaty; with this view, an article was inferted for the admission of those powers, who, with the confent of the contracting parties, should accede within a year; and the article was thus worded, because it was not thought proper to name France, on account of the mifunderstanding with Spain. He particularly specified, that although the treaty with Spain was figned, yet the Emperor had ordered his plenipotentiaries not to quit Cambray until the Spanish ministers had taken their departure, Ripperda, he added, had informed the Emperor, that fome points \* still remained to be settled between Spain and England; and the king his mafter re-

\* Alluding to Gibraltar.

Period III. quested the Emperor to employ his mediation to 1720 to 1727. that effect. To this request the Emperor had replied, that if those matters related to, and were the confequence of the quadruple alliance, and if the king of England approved it, he would willingly offer his interpolition, but otherwise, he would not interfere.

Reply of the king.

The king, after receiving the copy, congratulated the Emperor and king of Spain on their reconciliation. He then faid, that Spain finding it impossible to overcome the impartiality of the mediators, and to induce them to act in contradiction to the quadruple alliance, had deputed Ripperda with a view to form a direct accommodation with the court of Vienna; that his miffion taking place before the quarrel arose between France and Spain, it was not to that event, but to the equity and firmness of England and France. that the overtures from Spain were to be attributed; that the hopes of supporting the public tranquillity, and maintaining the faith of treaties, had induced the mediating powers to exert themfelves in attempting to bring the congress of Cambray to a happy conclusion, by fettling the objects in dispute between the Emperor and Spain, which were in themselves so little interesting to the two crowns. He did not take the least notice of the delicacy which the Emperor affected to shew in not being the first to recal his ministers at Cambray, nor of the demand for acceding to the treaty; and concluded by observing, that in regard to the offer made by the Emperor, of interposing

interposing his assistance towards adjusting any Chapter 27. differences between England and Spain, he did, not recollect that any other fubfifted, except fuch as related to commerce, and in those there was no occasion for a mediation \*.

1725.

To the Spanish embassador, when he notified the Audience of treaty, the king expressed his satisfaction at the minister. peace, because he was thereby delivered from a difficult and burdenfome mediation; and he added, with a fmile, "I hope the reconciliation will prove as fincere and durable as the parties expect ."

At the moment when the union of the Emperor Affairs of the and Spain threatened the fouth of Europe with north. new disturbances, the tranquillity of the north was in danger of being broken by the daring enterprizes of Ruffia, who feemed to employ, with great effect, the new ascendancy which she had gained as an European power. When Peter the Great had been counteracted in his attempts against Denmark, by the vigorous interpolition of England, he turned his views to Sweden, at that time diftracted with the troubles naturally derived from a disputed succession, declining under the weak administration of a fovereign almost reduced to a cypher by the new constitution, and enfeebled by factions, natural to a government founded on popular principles, and fomented by a turbulent ariftocracy. But he was prevented from taking an

<sup>\*</sup> Lord Townshend to St. Saphorin, May 3-14, 1725. Walpole Papers.

<sup>†</sup> Walpole Papers.

Period III. active share in the disturbances of Sweden by the 1720 to 1727. Persian war, which carried him from the Baltic to the Caspian sea. At the conclusion of the campaign, he again turned his thoughts to Denmark and Sweden. By gaining the senate, he concluded, in opposition to the king, a defensive alliance with Sweden for twelve years. The aim of this alliance was levelled against Denmark; and a secret article stipulated, that the contracting powers should employ their good offices to obtain the restitution of Slefwic to the duke of Holftein, and if these did not fucceed, should have recourse to other meafures. He also refused to listen to the overtures of reconciliation with George the First offered through the mediation of France and Sweden, unless the king would bind himself to insist on the restitution of Sleswic. The treaty was scarcely figned, when Peter died; but his wife Catherine, who was raised to the throne by the intrigues and influence of prince Menchikof, adopted all the views of her deceased husband, promoted the cause of her fon-in-law with still greater warmth, and made vigorous exertions for the purpole of forcing Denmark to accede to her demands. Thus a new war feemed inevitable, and preparations were made on all fides against an approaching rupture.

Every attempt of France and England to reconcile these jarring interests, failed of success. Catherine infifted on the restitution of Sleswic, or an equivalent (which alluded to Bremen and Verden) as the indispensable condition of her accommodation with Denmark. In vain the fenate

exhorted

expence.

exhorted her to try the way of negotiation, and Chapter 27. earnestly befought her, " for the ease and relief of her fubjects, to countermand the chargeable equipments the had been pleafed to order in favour of the duke's pretentions on Slefwic." In answer to these exhortations, the Empress warmly replied, " Let not any one of you all, that would be reckoned an honest subject, or hope to enjoy the least fhare of my favour, dare to offer me fuch mean spirited advice, The duke of Holstein, stripped unjustly of his hereditary dominions, took fanctuary in our country, and threw himself into the arms of my deceased lord for protection; he is fince contracted to my daughter, and is himself as dear to me as my own child. I am bound by all the rules of honour, as well as the ties of blood, to fee justice done to that unfortunate prince, in whose cause I would not scruple to forego the weakness of my fex, and even to draw a fword, or to put myfelf at the head of an army: I could content myself with cloaths to keep me warm, and with bread to eat; but I will have you know that my children ought to be, and shall be treated as the offspring of my dear lord, and your fovereign deceased. Whoever of you will aid me in this just cause of my son-inlaw, shall be encouraged and rewarded; but whoever dares oppose it, shall feel the utmost weight of my displeasure. If the kings of France and Great Britain are really disposed to help the duke of Holstein in recovering his right, this equipment will facilitate their operations, by intimidating the king of Denmark, and putting him to a constant

Period III.

expence. I know that prince will not be able to 1720 to 1727 reft in his bed, nor to keep a fingle thip in his harbours unequipped, as long as he fees that the fleet and gallies of Russia, with 50,000 men on board, can in a fortnight's time visit him in the very port of Copenhagen. But let France and Britain refuse their affistance to the duke, while I have Sweden and Pruffia on my fide, I hope he is in no danger of wanting subfishence. In short, it is for my interest and glory, as well as your's, to convince the world, that I have power to fee justice done to my family, and am refolved to make use of it: and I know no such way of convincing them of this truth, as by letting them fee the effects of it with their own eyes."

> At the conclusion of these words, she gave orders in their presence, to Menchikof and Apraxin, to have the fleet and troops in readiness by the middle of May at their peril \*...

Alarming reports.

In consequence of these resolutions, Spain and the Emperor made overtures to Catherine, which were cordially received. Large fums of money were remitted from Madrid to Petersburgh, and plans of offensive operation were concerted between them. It was reported that the fleet and troops of Russia were preparing to act, not only against Denmark, but to join Spain and the Emperor in favour of the Pretender. But none of these transactions had any effect in disturbing

<sup>\*</sup> Stephen Poyntz to lord Townshend, Stockholm, May 14, 1725. Walpole Papers.

the public tranquillity, or exciting the attention Chapter 27. of parliament.

As the embarrassed situation of foreign affairs, Application to and the prospect of an approaching rupture with parliament. the Emperor, Spain, and Russia, might render it highly necessary to expend large sums in secret service money; as there was no sum appropriated to such emergencies, and as the revenues of the civil list, loaded as they were with a large debt, were incapable of affording a competent supply, the minister was again laid under the necessary of applying to parliament.

On the 8th of April, a meffage from the king was delivered to the house, importing that he had been engaged in some extraordinary expences, which he was perfuaded his loyal commons would believe to have been employed, not only for the honour and dignity of the crown, but for the interest and prosperity of his people. The report of the treasury stated the debt at £. 508,363. In the debate, it was afferted that fince the civil lift was fettled, an expence of above f. 90,000 a year had been incurred, which could not be foreseen, and consequently not provided for. Parliamentary relief having been given in a fimilar case three years before, just and abundant matter was suggested for parliamentary debates and popular complaints. Pulteney was particularly urgent, and commenced on this occasion his public opposition. A compliance with the meffage however was carried by a large majority \*.

<sup>\*</sup> For its being taken into confideration by a committee of the whole house on the 9th, 239 against 119; and for passing the bill on the 16th, by 211 against 99. Journals.

## CHAPTER THE TWENTY-EIGHTH:

## 1725.

Conclusion and Object of the Treaty of Hanower.—Objections of Waltole,
—Removed.—Observations on the secret Articles in the Treaty of Vienna.

Period III. 1720 to 1727. Negotiations at Hanover.

Such was the fituation of affairs in the north and fouth, when the king arrived at Hanover, on the 25th of June. The whole political horizon was thickly covered with clouds, which feemed to announce a future tempest. To disperse these clouds, and to bring back serenity, seemed almost beyond the power of human prudence.

Hanover, as the Hague in time of William, now became the great centre of intrigue and negotiation, and the cabinet of a British sovereign in the heart of Germany, pacified or convulsed Europe. The great object of Townshend's negotiations, was to add vigour to the co-operation of France, to gain Prussia, to detach Sweden from Russia, and to form with France, and by her concurrence in the north, a counter treaty to that of Vienna, which might awe the Emperor and Spain, and prevent the princes and circles of the German empire, from acceding to an alliance, which folely regarded the house of Austria, and was wholly unconnected with the interests of Germany. All these points were effected with confummate address. Horace Walpole obtained at Paris the concurrence of France.

however

however averse to adopt vigorous measures. Townshend, in a conference at Herenhausen, lured Frederick William, by an offer of guarantying his succession to Berg and Juliers, and detached him from Russia and Austria. Poyntz, aided by French and English money, supported the cause of the king of Sweden, depressed the Russian party, and acquired a majority in the senate savourable to the English interest.

Chapter 28.

In the midst of these auspicious circumstances, Treaty of Haa defensive alliance between England, France, and nover.

Prussia, was signed on the 3d of September at Hanover, from which it is usually denominated the
treaty of Hanover. By the third article, the contracting parties mutually stipulated to surnish,
in case of an attack, two months after requisition,
England and France respectively 8,000 foot and
4,000 horse, and Prussia 3,000 foot and 2,000 horse,
or the value in ships or money. If these quotas
were not sufficient, they were to agree concerning
farther succours; and, in case of necessity, to assist
the party attacked with all their forces.

The treaty of Hanover, like most defensive al-Its objects. liances, had two meanings. The oftensible purport was to guaranty each other's dominions, and the treaties of Westphalia and Oliva. The real purport was to form a strong alliance in opposition to the designs of the Emperor, Spain, and Russia, and, under the general tenor of guarantying the privileges of commerce in particular, which the contracting parties actually enjoyed or ought to enjoy, as well in as out of Europe, to compel the

Emperor

Emperor to relinquish his favourite project of 1720 to 1727. establishing the Ostend company, which was confidered by England and Holland as contrary to the articles of the treaty of Westphalia; and to counteract the attempts which the Emperor, Spain, and Russia were accused of carrying on in favour of the Pretender.

Approved by the cabinet.

A copy of the treaty being immediately transmitted by lord Townshend to the duke of Newcastle, was first communicated confidentially to Sir Robert Walpole; and by his advice laid before a felect meeting of those \* members of the regency who were most entrusted with the secrets of the cabinet. The refult if of the conference was, an unanimous approbation of the contents, and a refolution to support the engagements contracted by this alliance. The lords justices in like manner gave their consent; and immediate negotiations were fet on foot to obtain the accession of the United Provinces, Sweden, and Denmark, and feveral of the German princes and states, which was afterwards effected.

Townshend's projects :

The refentment entertained at Hanover against the Emperor, is fufficiently proved by a visionary scheme, which the fanguine disposition of Townshend had conceived for the conquest and partition of the Austrian Netherlands, and which he fully-

<sup>\*</sup> The lord chancellor King, the earl of Berkley, first lord of the admiralty, and earl Godolphin, who was mentioned by the duke of . Newcastle as the only person, in the absence of the duke of Devonshire, to whom it was thought proper to entrust a matter of so great secreey and importance.

<sup>†</sup> Duke of Newcastle to lord Townshend, September 15, 1725. Correspondence.

Enters into and justifies, in a confidential letter \* Chapter 28. to Horace Walpole. He was moreover fo fully affured of its fuccess, that at one time he proposed to divide the conquered provinces between England, France, and Holland; and at another, to transfer them to the elector of Bavaria. It is most probable that this wild scheme, the impracticability of which was proved by Horace Walpole in his reply t, was never communicated to Walpole; but if communicated, we may be convinced that it met with no encouragement from a minifter, whose great principle it was to avoid, as much as possible, all foreign entanglements, and not to enter into any war which was not connected with the fecurity of England.

1725.

Townshend announced, with great triumph, the And exultafuccess which attended his complicated negotiations, by the conclusion of the treaty of Hanover. In a dispatch to Horace Walpole, dated September 3, 1725, he observes, "I must now congratulate with you on our having fo fuccessfully begun a work, which, if cultivated and improved as it may be, will check the ambitious views of the court of Vienna, and fecure the tranquillity of Europe; and in order to obtain that great end, no time ought to be loft to engage other powers to accede to this treaty."

<sup>\*</sup> Lord Townshend to Horace Walpole, Hanover, August 27, 1725. Walpole Papers.

<sup>†</sup> Lord Townshend to W. Finch, 1 November 1725. Walpole Papers.

<sup>1</sup> September 4, 1725. Walpole Papers.

Hanoverian . influence :

Period III. It has been usually afferted, and echoed from 1720 to 1727 one publication to another, that during the reigns Imputation of of the two first sovereigns of the house of Brunswic. the helm of government was uniformly steered by the Hanoverian rudder, and the interests of Great Britain wholly facrificed to the interests of the king's dominions in Germany. But no transaction has been more vehemently arraigned as a dereliction of national honour, than this treaty. upon which lord Chefterfield has faid \*, " that Hanover rode triumphant on the shoulders of England;" and lord Chatham, in his energetic language, observed, " it is a treaty, the tendency of which is discovered in the name; a treaty by which we disunited ourselves from Austria, destroyed that building which we now may perhaps endeavour without fuccess to raise again, and weakened the only power which it was our interest to ftrengthen." It may, perhaps, feem prefump tuous to affirm, in opposition to these respectable opinions, that there was no event fince the acceffion of the house of Brunswic, in which the interests of Hanover were more factificed to those of England, than in this very treaty, which then raifed fuch an outcry against the Walpole administration; and which still affords a theme for political obloquy.

In the first place it may be observed, that if in this treaty the interests of England were wholly facrificed to those of Hanover, evident proofs of

<sup>\*</sup> Further Vindication of the case of the Hanover Treaty.

1725.

that fact would be traced from the conduct of the Chapter as. king and his German ministers. We should find them uniformly promoting that alliance, uniformly concurring in vigorous measures against the house of Austria; but the contrary is the fact. The king Refuted. himself opposed the Hanover treaty, and objected to all vigorous proceedings against the Emperor, from a dread of being put under the ban of the empire\*, and from a tender concern for his electorate, which was threatened with an immediate invasion. Nor was he induced to fanction the measures of the British cabinet, until he was perfuaded that, even should a rupture with the Emperor enfue, his German dominions would not be exposed to an attack, because it would only be a naval war, and hostilities would be principally confined to the West Indies i; and that in all events, supported by the united arms of France and England, he would have no cause of apprehenfion t.

The treaty was highly displeasing to the German ministers, who, alarmed at the repeated menaces of the Imperial court, loudly exclaimed, that the king was exposing his Hanoverian dominions to the vengeance of the head of the empire, for the fake only of a few branches of the English trade. They accordingly renewed their efforts against Townshend and Walpole, leagued with opposition, and

<sup>\*</sup> Intercepted Letters. Correspondence, Period III.

<sup>†</sup> Palm to the Emperor, December 17th, 1726.

Townshend's Dispatches to Horace Walpole, November 1725, and August 1726.

Period III. caballed with those foreign powers who were in-1720 to 1727. imical to the English cabinet.

> We now find the Emperor, with whom the Hanoverians are faid to have been constantly at variance during the whole reign of George the First, courting that very party; we fee his confidential ministers expressing hopes of their assistance to counterast the hostile intentions of the English cabinet; lamenting, in most pathetic terms, the overthrow of that influence, which is held forth as unfavourable to the Imperial interest, and caballing with Bothmar, and Fabricius the king's chamberlain; we trace the empress of Germany corresponding with the duchess of Kendal, for the purpose of infusing pacific sentiments into the king.

> Another motive, which had certainly no connection with Hanoverian politics, and was folely derived from a due confideration of England alone, is thus detailed in the report of the treaty of Vienna: "The Emperor has long been desirous to have a naval force, and though his endeavours in Italy have hitherto proved fruitless, because nothing can produce navigation but trade, yet should the Oftend company go on with fuccess, by the natural course of things, the Emperor will in time have a naval force on the coast of Flanders, which may prove much more inconvenient to us hereafter, than a fleet in the Mediterranean or Adriatic feas; and there are many reasons why we should be extremely jealous of the increase of shipping in the hands of a popish prince. The command of the feas has frequently past from one nation to ano-1111

ther;

ther; and though Great Britain has continued Chapter 28. longer in possession of the superiority than perhaps any other nation ever did, yet all human affairs are fubject to great viciffitudes. We have feen one confiderable maritime power established in the north in our memory; Spain likewise was in a fair way to make a figure at fea not long ago, and perhaps may do fo still; but the protestant interest at fea is declining. The Dane and the Swede are no longer confiderable in the Baltic, and there is reason to apprehend, that the Dutch naval force is not at present upon a very good foot \*."

Thus then, I have endeavoured to shew that this Treaty of treaty was not directed by the interests of Hanover, a British treaty. but diametrically opposed them; that it was wholly an English treaty in every thing, but the name; and that the motive which gave rife to it, was the protection and preservation of British commerce, British possessions, and British government. Its determinate objects were, the preservation of Gibraltar, the abolition of the Oftend company, and, if credit may be given to the supposed secret articles in the treaty of Vienna, the frustration of the plan for restoring the Pretender.

In thus attempting to explain the motives Walpole's which led to the formation of the treaty of Hano- objections. ver, I am not justifying Sir Robert Walpole, for he never entirely approved that alliance; he always thought that the king and Townshend were too much alarmed with exaggerated rumours and ap-

<sup>\*</sup> Report concerning the Treaty of Vienna. Orford Papers.

Period III. prehensions of distant evils; he was of opinion, that 1720 to 1727; milder measures might have been pursued with greater probability of fuccess. He strongly obiected to one part of their proceedings; that while they were anxious to gain allies on the fide of Germany, they neglected to fecure Portugal, the advantages of whose friendship, in case of a rupture with Spain, were incalculably great; and he did not hesitate to deliver his opinion, however contrary to the fentiments of the king, and his brother-in-law, with that frankness to which he was always accustomed. He remonstrated, in the strongest manner, against the large sums of money required for gaining Sweden; and when lord Townshend, in the name of the king, demanded f. 100,000 for that purpose, he ventured to declare that it was so large a demand, as could not be legally supplied by any other method than from the civil lift; that f. 50,000 was as much as that could furnish, without the greatest difficulties, and trusted that no more would be drawn for. He thought Townshend too precipitate in concluding the treaty; hinted his doubts whether the empress of Russia had any serious intention to invade England, and strongly opposed the fearching or laying an embargo on the Ruffian thips, which Townshend suspected were employed in conveying arms and ammunition to the difaffected in Scotland or Ireland.

He was also diffatisfied with lord Townshend for having concealed the negotiation which terminated in the treaty of Hanover, until it was entirely concluded. He doubted the fincerity of France, and fuspected (what really happened) that she Chapter 28. would evade paying her share of the subsidies, and that therefore the principal burthen of the expence would fall on England. He was averse to enter upon measures which might tend to diminish the force of the house of Austria, whom he had always confidered as the natural ally of England, and the bulwark against the ambitious designs of France, whenever an union with Spain should be re-established, and the French finances be recovered from the exhausted state to which they had been reduced by the war of the Spanish succession, and the fatal effects of the Miffiffippi scheme.

He declared, in the most positive terms, that if

a war was to be undertaken, which he most heartily deprecated, it was absolutely necessary to convince the nation, that an invasion by a foreign power, or an evident defign of an invasion, the support of the Pretender, and the cause of the Protestant succesfion, were the principal motives that compelled the king to part with that peace and tranquillity which had been attended with fuch lasting and happy effects. But from the moment that there appeared Motives for to him any danger of an invasion in favour of the supporting it. Pretender, however remote and distant, he caught the alarm. He became not less anxious than his brother minister to adopt measures of defence, and to prepare for hostilities; yet he continued so true to his system, that, during the complicated negotiations which followed the treaty of Hanover, he inveighed against precipitate measures, and inva-

1720 to 1727.

Period III. was, in fact, fo very anxious to prevent a rupture with the Emperor, that he availed himself of the pacific fentiments of the duchefs of Kendal\*, to counteract, by her influence over the king, the more violent and hoftile refolutions of Townshend, who supported the necessity of vigorous measures.

Secret articles of the treaty of Vienna dif. cuffed.

It was observed by the late earl of Hardwicke ... that the merits of the treaty of Hanover entirely rest on the still undetermined points, whether the courts of Vienna and Madrid intended only to compose their own quarrels, or also to take Gibraltar, and to impose the Pretender on England, As these yet undecided points still exercise the fagacity, and give full scope to the conjectures of native and foreign historians, I shall here obferve, that the papers and documents submitted to my infpection, fully display the facts which prove the reality of the fecret articles, and which produced the public declarations of the king and ministers in parliament, that the Emperor and king of Spain proposed to attempt the recovery of Gibraltar, and the restoration of the Pretender. From a candid review and comparison of these accounts, we may draw this inference, that the king of Spain, urged by refentment, ambition, and interest, was ferious in his resolution to extort the cession of Gibraltar and Minorca, at all events; was prepared to employ his whole force against England to restore the Pretender; and

<sup>\*</sup> Correspondence. † Hardwicke Papers.

that he fully depended on the co-operation of the Chapter 28. Emperor, to whom he fent, in fourteen months, 1,240,000 pistoles; and would have remitted more, had the galleons arrived. To these facts, may be added the frequent conferences of Ormond and Liria, fon of the duke of Berwick, with the Spanish, Imperial, and Russian ministers; the plan of an invasion by Liria; the affembling of troops on the coast of Gallicia; the engagement of officers for the Pretender's fervice; the redemption of the stands of arms which the Pretender had pawned at Cadiz; the distinguished reception of the duke of Wharton, as agent of the Pretender, with the enfigns of the garter, by him recently conferred; and his mission to Vienna for the purpose of concerting a plan of operation. At this crisis, the British embassador was treated with flight and indignity; he was, to use his own expression, avoided by the grandees like a pestilence. The Jacobite air, "The king shall enjoy his own again," was infultingly played at court, and the duke of Liria did not scruple to declare, that he hoped it would foon be a crime in Spain to mention George the First as king of England \*

But a distinction has been made between the king of Spain and the Emperor, on whose behalf it has been afferted, that some reports were afterwards found to have been exaggerated, and some imputed projects never intended to be carried into

<sup>\*</sup> Mr. Stanhope's dispatches from Spain, 1725. Harrington and Walpole Papers. See Correspondence, Article Ripperda.

Period III. execution. The Emperor himfelf positively denied 1720 to 1727. that he had ever entertained ferious defigns of affifting the Pretender, and declared that he had only lured the queen of Spain with the hopes of giving his daughters in marriage to her two fons, which he never meant to realize. Yet at the time there were ftrong reasons to believe that he encouraged the Pretender and his agents.

The Emperor's great object was to establish the Oftend company, and to obtain the guaranty of the pragmatic fanction, which England and France declined, and with that view, to force George the First to a compliance, by affecting to co-operate with Spain in favour of the Pretender, and by threatening an invasion of the electorate of Hanover. Yet there were fufficient appearances to justify the apprehensions of the king, and to induce him to believe that the Emperor was fincere in his defigns of joining Spain with all his forces, and that he would only be deterred by a counteralliance. Ripperda faid publicly, that by this close union of Spain and Austria, the two sovereigns would avenge the infults they had received; and the partifans of the Emperor boafted, that as he was no longer alarmed for Italy, there was no power in the empire who could venture to oppose the dictates of their mafter in matters of religion or otherwise \*. The Austrian minister publicly boasted, that the Emperor would give laws to Europe; that he would now possess the sole and

<sup>\*</sup> St. Saphorin to lord Townshend, Vienna, 11th May 1725.

1725.

entire direction of the court of Spain, and that in Chapter 28. future the king must be obliged to him for the continuance of the harmony between England and Spain, and for the fecurity of the commercial advantages stipulated with that crown \*. Count Sinzendorf also said to Petkum, "Let the king take care of himfelf, for we know that the people of England are beginning to be tired of him." The Emperor was weak enough to make an unconflitutional distinction between the king and parliament, and boafted to count Oropoffa, that by offering to the parliament the exclusive commerce to Spain and the Indies, he should not only obtain the restitution of Gibraltar, but seduce England from France. "My ministers," he added, " are unanimous; I am defirous to favour the people and commerce of England; but Gibraltar and Minorca must first be restored +." As the Emperor was at this time known to govern the councils of the court of Madrid, and the strictest union appeared to be maintained between them, it was not possible for ministers to distinguish between his professions and intentions; nor does a fubfequent avowal of duplicity on his part, inculpate those who, acting under the impulse of opinions fo well founded, formed that treaty which deterred the king of Spain and his allies from exerting themselves in the execution of those projects, which, if once accompanied with fuccefs, might have been purfued to an extent not origi-

<sup>\*</sup> Duke of Newcastle to Mr. Stanhope, May 4th, 1725, O. S.

<sup>†</sup> St. Saphorin to lord Townshend, Vienna, May 30th, 1725.

442

Period III.

nally intended by the Emperor. Such were the 1720 to 1727. grounds of alarm which induced Walpole, though not to approve the proceedings in all respects, yet to justify and to support the treaty in parliament.

## CHAPTER THE TWENTY-NINTH:

## 1725-1727.

The King's dangerous Passage to England .- The Treaty of Hanover approved by Parliament, and vigorous Measures adopted .- Public Indignation against the Emperor .- Walpole's pacific Views .- Preliminaries agreed to by the Emperor-and Spain .- The King departs for Hanover.

The king's dangerous paflage to England.

THE presence of the king being now necessary in England, for the purpose of laying the treaty before parliament, he quitted Hanover on the 29th of December, after a short stay in Holland, embarked at Helvoetsluys, on the 1st of January, O. S. at one in the afternoon; and after a violent ftorm, which continued three days, during which he was exposed to imminent danger, he landed on the 3d at Rye. To the king's escape, the author of the Night Thoughts alludes in his feventh Satire, which concludes with a high eulogium on Sir Robert Walpole.

While fea and air, great Brunswick! shook our state, And sported with our king's and Asingdom's fate, Depriv'd of what she lov'd, and press'd by fear Of ever losing what she held most dear; How did Britannia, like Achilles weep, And tell her forrows to the kindred deep!

Hang o'er the floods, and, in devotion warm, Strive, for thee, with the furge, and fight the ftorm! What felt thy Walpole, pilot of the realm! Our Palinurus flept not at the helm. His eyes ne'er closed, long fince enured to wake, And outwatch every star for Brunswick's sake: By thwarting passions tost, by cares opprest, He found the tempest pictur'd in his breast. But now, what joys that gloom of heart dispel, No powers of language—but his own can tell; His own, which nature and the graces form, At will to raise or hush the civil storm.

Chapter 29.

The speech from the throne was penned with January 20th great address, and well calculated to produce an 1726. impressive effect. It stated, that the distressed speech from the throne. condition of the protestants abroad, the engagements contracted by certain powers, which feemed to lay the foundation of new diffurbances in Europe, and to threaten his subjects with the loss of their most advantageous trade, had obliged the king to conclude a defensive alliance with France and Prussia, and to invite the States General and other powers to accede, with a view to fecure their rights and privileges, and preserve the peace and balance of Europe. It adverted to the machinations of the disaffected party in favour of the Pretender; and after urging the necessity of placing the kingdom in a posture of defence, concluded in the true spirit of the preventive and pacific fystem adopted by the minister. "When the world shall see, that you will not suffer the British crown and nation to be menaced and infulted, those, who most envy the present happiness and tranquillity

Period III. tranquillity of this kingdom, and are endeavouring 1720 to 1727; to make us subservient to their ambition, will confider their own interest and circumstances, before they make any attempt upon fo brave a people, strengthened and supported by prudent and powerful alliances; and, though defirous to preserve the peace, able and ready to defend themselves against the efforts of all aggreffors. Such resolutions, and fuch measures, timely taken, I am satisfied are the most effectual means of preventing a war, and continuing to us the bleffings of peace and profperity \*."

Pulteney in opposition.

Addresses, in conformity with the speech, were prefented by both houses, to support the king against all attempts to disturb the public repose: And the commons immediately proceeded to confider of a fupply. On the proposal for continuing the fame number of men as were maintained in the January 28th. last year, a motion of Shippen, to reduce the 4,000 men, was negatived without a division, and the ori-February 9th. ginal question carried. Another being made by Pulteney for a committee to state the public debts, from 1714 to 1725, Walpole objected to it as unseasonable and preposterous, and calculated to give a dangerous wound to public credit, when the monied men were too much alarmed with the appearances of an approaching war; he urged, that

\* Journals. Chandler. Tindal.

in the present posture of affairs, the commons could not better express their love to their country, than by fulfilling their promises, and raising the neces-

fary fupplies, for the purpose of enabling the king Chapter 29. to make good his late engagements, difappointing 1725 to 1727. the hopes of the disaffected, and resenting any infults which might be offered to his crown and dignity. Barnard, member for London, having confirmed the statement of the minister, and observed that stocks had already fallen 12 or 14 per cent.; his remarks made a deep impression on the house; and the motion was negatived by 262 against 89.

The treaty of Hanover was presented to the Treaty of Hanover house of commons by Sir Robert Walpole, but he approved. did not take any active part on that occasion. Feb. 16th, The business of the day was principally supported 1725-6by his brother Horace Walpole, who opened the debate with a very able speech, in which he gave a detail the state of affairs in Europe, from the peace of Utrecht to that time; dwelt on the dangerous confequences which might refult from the union of Spain and the Emperor, and endeavoured to prove the necessity of the treaty formed at Hanover, between England, France, and Pruffia, as the only method of counteracting the ambitious defigns of those two fovereigns, preserving the tranquillity of Europe, restoring the balance of power, and fecuring the trade and commerce of England.

The opposition, with great art, condemned the treaty, as being made folely with a view to Hanover, and as likely to engage the nation in a war for the defence of the king's dominions in Germany, contrary to the article in the act for limiting the crown in the Protestant line, which being

the

the basis of the act of settlement, was become part 1720 to 1727 of the constitution, and therefore ought to be held facred and inviolable. The objection was well answered by Henry Pelham, "That the true meaning and intent of that limitation, was not wholly and for ever to deprive his majesty's foreign dominions of any affiftance from this nation; for if fo, the king in that respect would be in a worse condition upon his accession to the British throne. than he was before; but only to reftrain the fovereign for the future, from engaging the nation, at his pleafure, in a war for the defence of any dominions not belonging to the crown of England. without the confent of parliament, to whom the legislature wifely left to judge and determine, whether fuch a war was just and necessary or no? That for his own part he was fully of opinion, that if in the present juncture, his foreign dominions should be attacked or insulted, this nation ought to support the king against all his enemies \*."

The only share Walpole took in this debate, was in reply to Pulteney, who fuggefted that the backwardness of the Emperor in granting the investiture of Bremen and Verden, might have been one motive for the late measures; he observed, "that the king might long ago have received the investiture. if he would have confented to pay the exorbitant fees demanded on that occasion." An address. moved by Pelham, was carried in the affirmative. by 285 against 107; and the same triumphant ma-

<sup>\*</sup> Chandler, vol. 6. p. 362.

jority voted an extraordinary supply, an increase of Chapter 20. feamen, and testified their hearty concurrence to 1725 to 1727. fupport government in the most vigorous meafures.

This fession, in which scarcely any opposition Prorogation of was made to the measures of government, was closed on the 24th of May by prorogation; when the king, after returning his hearty thanks for their attention and zeal, and extolling their spirit and refolution, concluded, "The conftant employment of my thoughts, and the most earnest wishes of my heart, tend wholly to the fecuring to my subjects their just rights and advantages, and to the preferving to them and to all Europe, the enjoyment of a fafe and honourable peace: and I must not conclude without giving you the strongest affurances, that the particular confidence you have placed in me, shall be made use of in such a manner only, as may most effectually conduce to the attaining those good and great purposes \*."

In consequence of this effusion of parliamentary vigorous prezeal, the most active preparations for commencing parations. or preventing hostilities were made, in concert with France. The first efforts were directed to the North, as to the point which appeared most dangerous and alarming. For it required no great penetration to foresee, that if Russia could either bribe or awe Sweden into compliance, Denmark would not be able to refift the combination of these two powers. A Ruffian squadron riding in the

<sup>\*</sup> Journals, Chandler, Tindal,

Period III.

port of Gothebourg, in conjunction with the Swe-1720 to 1727 dish fleet, would keep Great Britain in continual alarms, by threatening her with an immediate invasion, and be ready to co-operate with the Empetor and Spain. The golden showers poured into Sweden from France and England, overcame the Holftein and Russian party, and Sweden prepared, on the first appearance of the English squadron, to renounce the alliance with Russia, and to receive the Hanoverian allies with open arms. The fquadron fent to the Baltic under the command of Sir Charles Wager, effected the purposes for which it was equipped: it inspired Denmark with confidence; enabled Sweden to recede from its alliance with Russia, and to accede to the treaty of Hanover; it compelled the empress Catherine to renounce her hostile attempts in favour of the duke of Holstein; and though she afterwards concluded a formal alliance with the Emperor, yet it was not attended with any material effects. Threatened with an attack from the united arms of France, England, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland, who had acceded to the treaty of Hanover, and finding herself not likely to receive any effectual affistance from her ally the Emperor, who, though he had feduced Pruffia from the Hanoverallies, had been foiled in his attempts to gain the princes and circles of the empire; her impotent refentment subsided at the near approach of danger, and her fleet quietly remained in her ports, without venturing to oppose the British squadron.

Thefe

These vigorous measures in the North, which Chapter 29. detached Sweden from Russia, and prevented all 1725 to 1727. concert between the Emperor and Catherine, effected the most difficult part of the business, and were a prelude to the fuccessful iffue of the exertions against Spain and the Emperor. The haughty and restless ambition of Spain had roused the spirit of the British nation, but strong prejudices in favour of the house of Austria prevailed in England. The Emperor had many partifans, and even Walpole was inclined not to push matters vigorously against him, but the imprudence of the Emperor destroyed these favourable impresfions.

This year gave birth to two events of great im-Fall of Ripportance, which occurred nearly at the same period, perda. the fall of Ripperda, and the difgrace of the duke of Bourbon. The fall of Ripperda, of which a full account is given in a subsequent chapter, was unfavourable to the interests of England. On his difgrace, he took refuge in the house of the British embassador, where he was arrested by command of the king of Spain. Stanhope complained of the violation of the law of nations, and was warmly fupported by the foreign ministers. The Spanish cabinet tendered excuses; memorials and counter memorials passed between the two courts; the misunderstanding was increased, and Philip made vast preparations by fea and land, which were evidently defigned for the fiege of Gibraltar \*.

\* Stanhope's dispatches.

Period III. June. bon.

The difgrace of the duke of Bourbon was re-1720 to 1727 ceived at the courts of Madrid and Vienna with the highest transports of joy, as a fure prelude to Disgrace of the the separation of France from England, and reconciliation with Spain. The elevation of Fleury was hailed by the Jacobites as the beginning of a new æra, and the certain forerunner of a successful attempt to place the Pretender on the throne, by the united arms of France, Spain, and Austria. But the address of Horace Walpole, who had secured his confidence, prevailed on the new minister to maintain the union, and to ratify the engagements specified in the treaty of Hanover. While the opposition in England industriously circulated reports, that the cabinet was duped by Fleury, the French party hostile to his measures, and the queen of Spain, declared that Fleury was a coward, and wholly governed by that heretic Horace Walpole\*

Meeeing of parliament.

The parliament affembled the 17th of January 1727, and the king in his speech from the throne observed, that he had received information from different parts, on which he could entirely depend, that the placing the Pretender upon the throne of this kingdom was one of the articles of the fecret engagements; and if time should evince, that the giving up the trade of this nation to one power, and Gibraltar and Port Mahon to another, is made the price and reward of impofing upon this kingdom a Popish Pretender, what indignation must

<sup>\*</sup> Horace Walpale's Apology. Walpole Papers.

this raile in the breast of every protestant Briton \*! Chapter 27. This whole speech is singularly full and explicit, 1725 to 1727. and in length exceeds all others, which, fince the revolution, had been delivered from the throne. The conclusion peculiarly animated and impressive: "If preserving a due balance of power in Europe; if defending the possessions of the crown of Great Britain, of infinite advantage and fecurity to our trade and commerce; if supporting that trade and commerce against dangerous and unlawful encroachments; and if the present establishment, the religion, liberties, and properties of a protestant people, are any longer confiderations worthy of the care and attention of a British parliament; I need fay no more to incite my loyal and faithful houses of parliament, to exert themselves in the defence of all that is dear and valuable to them."

The zeal and indignation raised by this speech zeal of parliawas fo great, that the address of thanks was carried ment. by a majority of 251 against 81; and the commons proved, that the warm terms in which they conveved their approbation of the measures which had been pursued, were not confined to mere form. Twenty thousand seamen were unanimously voted; the army was augmented to 26,000 men, and the fupplies demanded for the fervice of the current. year, were voted without the least opposition. The Indignation of public indignation, excited by the peremptory de- the public. mand of the restitution of Gibraltar, and the secret articles in the treaty of Vienna, which, according to the positive declarations of the king and his mi-

<sup>&</sup>quot; Tindal, vol. 19. p. 562. Journals.

Period III. nifters, related to the Pretender, was still farther in-1720 to 1727 creased by the imprudent conduct of Palm, the Imperial minister at London. Caballing with the Hanoverian ministers, and confiding in the counsels of opposition, he advised the Emperor, in a letter which fell into the hands of the ministers, to make a public declaration, that the affertions contained in the speech were false \*.

the Emperor.

Imprudence of Guided by this imprudent advice, the Emperor, who was wholly unacquainted with the principles of the English constitution, ordered Palm to prefent a memorial to the king. In this memorial, the Imperial minister, after reflecting on the speech, and after denying, in his mafter's name, in the most solemn manner, the existence of any secret articles, concluded in these words: "Which things being thus, the injury offered to truth, the honour and dignity of his facred Imperial and Catholic majesty require, that they should be exposed to your majesty, to the kingdom of Great Britain, and to the whole world: and his facred Imperial majesty demands that reparation which is due to him by all manner of right, for the great injuries which have been done him by these many imputations ."

This memorial was printed and circulated, and was accompanied with a letter from the Imperial chancellor, count Zinzendorff, enjoining Palm to publish it, that the whole nation might be acquainted with it . The intemperate language used in these papers, and the indiscretion of distinguishing between the king and his subjects, and of appealing

<sup>\*</sup> Correspondence. + Tindal, vol. 19. p. 576. 1 Hist. Register.

from the throne to the nation, excited the just re- Chapter 29. fentment of parliament. The memorial being 1725 to 1727. Submitted to the house of commons, not only those who supported government, but even Pulteney, Unanimous address to the Sir William Wyndham, Shippen, and the leading king. members in opposition, agreed in expressing the March 13th. highest indignation at this affront offered to the crown, and strongly reprobated the audacity of the Imperial minister. The whole house unanimously adopted the address drawn up by Walpole, "To express the highest refentment at the affront and indignity offered to his most facred majesty, by the memorial delivered by Monsieur de Palm, the Emperor's refident, and at his infolence in printing and dispersing the same throughout the kingdom; to declare their utmost abhorrence of this audacious manner of appealing to the people against his majefty; and their deteftation of the prefumptuous and vain attempt of endeavouring to instil into the minds of any of his majesty's faithful subjects, the least distrust or diffidence in his most facred royal word; to return his majesty the thanks of this house, for his care and vigilance, in discovering the fecret and pernicious defigns of his enemies, and his goodness in communicating to his parliament the dangers that threatened this kingdom; and to affure his majesty, that the house would stand by and support him against all open and secret enemies, both at home and abroad; and effectually defeat the expectations of all fuch as may have in any manner countenanced, encouraged, or abetted the disturbers of the public tranquillity in this ex-

Period III. travagant infult upon his majefty, or flattered then, 1720 to 1727, with hopes, that an obstinate perfeverance in their destructive measures, could stagger the firmness of the British nation, in vindication of his majesty's honour, and the defence of their rights and privileges \*."

Imperial minifter difmiffed.

Soon after the presentation of this address, Palm was commanded to leave the kingdom; the British resident at Vienna quitted the Imperial dominions; and as the Spanish minister had previously taken an abrupt departure, a rupture with Spain and the Emperor appeared to be unavoidable. The most active preparations were made on all fides; Spain commenced hostilities by the siege of Gibraltar, and expected to be seconded by the whole force of the house of Austria, A bloody war would have been the consequence of this attack, had the Emperor fulfilled the treaty of Vienna; or had England and France instantly directed their whole force against the restless and ambitious court of Madrid, Fortunately, the pacific fentiments of Walpole and Fleury began to operate on the affairs of Europe, and the government of England exhibited a striking instance of vigour and moderation; of vigour in the preparations for war, and of moderation in fuspending the blow, at the very moment in which it was ready to strike with effect.

Pacific views of Walpole.

Walpole dreaded the interruption of our commerce with Spain, which at that time formed the most extensive branches of the national trade, and with that view strained every nerve to infuse senti-

<sup>#</sup> Journals. Chandler.

ments of reconciliation into the British cabinet. Chapter 29.

Hence the instructions \* of admiral Hosier, who 1725 to 1727. had been sent on an expedition to the Spanish

West Indies, enjoined him in the strongest manner not to commit hostilities; hence England also declined the offer of France to consider the attack of Gibraltar as a casus faderis, from an apprehension lest the warlike interposition of France should contribute to the diffusion of hostilities; hence not-withstanding the insult offered to the king and nation by the Emperor, through the medium of his minister, overtures of accommodation were gladly received through the mediation of France.

When the Emperor fo grofsly infulted the king and the nation by the memorial of Palm, he conceived the most fanguine expectations of having formed a confederacy strong enough to oppose the allies of Hanover. He had seduced the king of Prussia from the treaty of Hanover; he had already gained the electors of Mentz, Treves, Cologne, and Palatine; secured the neutrality of the Saxons, and even prevailed on the duke of Brunswic Wolfenbuttle, to admit an Austrian garrison into Brunswic, from whence he might easily make an irruption into Hanover. He had concluded a strict alliance with the Czarina, and collected an army of 30,000 men, ready to march from the Netherlands to the invasion of Holland.

But the measures adopted in opposition to these separate peace hostile designs, disconcerted his views; 20,000 with the Emperor. Danes, and 12,000 Swedes, were subsidised by Eng-

<sup>·</sup> Walpole Papers.

Period III. land and France; 12,000 Hessians taken into Eng-

1720 to 1727; lish pay; and a French army was collecting on the frontiers of Germany. The death of the Czarina, in May, deprived the Emperor of a powerful ally; the king of Prussia began to waver; the princes and circles of Germany refused to consider the cause of the house of Austria as the cause of the empire; and as the king of Spain was unable to fupply him with those large sums of money, which the unbounded promifes of Ripperdahad led him to expect, Charles found himself unable to resist the powerful combination against him. He facrificed Spain to his own fafety; and after a short negotiation, commenced by the Pope, and continued through the mediation of France, he figned at Paris, on the 31st of May, in his own name, and in that of Spain, the preliminaries of peace with England, France, and Holland. He agreed to suspend the charter of the Ostend company for feven years; confirmed all the treaties in force anterior to 1725, and confented to fubmit to a general congress the termination of the disputes subfishing between the allies of Hanover and Vienna.

Spain forced to accede.

Philip the Fifth having, in confequence of his disagreement with France, no minister at Paris, the preliminaries were figned at Vienna in the beginning of June, by the duke of Bournonville, the Spanish embassador; the fifth article declaring that they should be executed immediately after the fignature by the Emperor and the allies, and by Spain eight days after the king of Spain had received them figned. In consequence of this agreement,

George

George the First issued orders to lord Portmore, Chapter 29. governor of Gibraltar, and his admirals, both on the coasts of Spain, and in the West Indies, to cease all hostilities, and to restore all prizes taken from Spain; to permit the return of the galleons to Europe, and to raise the blockade of Porto Bello, and the other ports in the West Indies. In return, it was expected that the siege of Gibraltar would be raised, and the prizes taken from England, particularly the Prince Frederick, belonging to the South Sea company, at Vera Cruz, would be restored.

On proroguing the parliament, the king ob- May 15. ferved, in his fpeech from the throne, in a language which breathed the pacific fentiments of Walpole, " The fiege of Gibraltar proves, beyond all difpute, the aim and defign of the engagements entered into by the Emperor and the king of Spain; but the preparations I had made for the defence of that place, and the bravery of my troops, will, I doubt not, convince them of the rashness and folly of that undertaking. However the love of peace has hitherto prevailed on me, even under this high provocation, to fuspend, in some measure, my resentments; and instead of having immediate recourse to arms, and demanding of my allies that affiftance, which they are engaged and ready to give me, I have concurred with the most Christian king, and the States General, in making fuch overtures of accommodation, as must convince all theworld of theuprightness of our intentions, and of our sincere disposition to peace; and demonstrate, to whose ambition and thirst of power the calamities of a war

positions are rejected. In the mean time, I have the pleasure to acquaint you, that the crown of Sweden has acceded to the treaty of Hanover, and the convention between me, his most Christian majesty, and the king of Denmark, is actually The king's defigned \*." Such was the state of the negotiation, when the king departed for Hanover, in June 1727.

## CHAPTER THE THIRTIETH:

## 1727.

Cabals of the Duches of Kendal and Bolingbroke to remove Walpole.— Bolingbroke's Interview with the King.—Sanguine Hopes of Opposition.—Death of the King.—Memoirs of his Wife, the unjoitunate Sophia of Zell.

Cabals against A T this period, Walpole stood in the highest estimation with the king and nation; and his pacific sentiments were so well known, that all who desired the blessing of peace, wished for his continuance in office; yet rumours of a change in administration were believed and circulated; and a formal attempt was made by Bolingbroke, in cooperation with the duchess of Kendal, to obtain his removal, and to substitute himself in his place. A full account of this intrigue, which has occasioned various conjectures and uncertain speculations, is here given from undoubted authorities.

<sup>\*</sup> Journals, Chandler,

The duchefs of Kendal, who, by the death of Chapter 30. lady Darlington, remained without a rival in the confidence of the king, had, in confideration of By the duchefs £. 11,000, affured lord Bolingbroke that the would of Kendal and Bolingbroke. obtain his complete reftoration \*; but having failed in effecting her promise, she threw the whole blame on Sir Robert Walpole, as the person who obstructed the king's defigns in his favour; and though the was inclined to fecond all attempts for the purpose of obtaining his disgrace, yet many circumstances prevented her from exerting her influence in favour of Bolingbroke.

She was become timid and cautious; fearful of diffreshing the mind of the king, who was declining in years and health, and eafily depressed. She was unwilling to offend the ministers, who, besides the payment of a pension of f. 7,500 from the exchequer, which it depended on their punctuality to discharge, secured her good-will by private prefents, and fupplied her with various means of gratifying her rapaciousness. She affected great concern for the interest of England, and sacrificed to her own tranquillity the concerns of the Hanoverian junto. Under these circumstances, it was no easy task to rouse her active exertions; but Bolingbroke paid affiduous court; his wife was no lefs constant in her attendance, and both anxiously watched for a favourable opportunity, which at length feemed to present itself.

The eldest fon of Sir Robert Walpole had been The king's appointed ranger of Richmond Park, and the mi-tercourse with

Wal; ele.

nister, while a new lodge was building, took a small 1720 to 1727. tenement on Richmond Hill, where the king after shooting, occasionally dined with him, and passed the afternoon drinking punch, of which he was excessively fond, in an easy and convivial manner. The duchefs, alarmed at this familiar intercourse, and anxious to render these visits less frequent, attempted, by means of fome of her German friends, who were generally of the party, to break up the meeting fooner than the usual time of retiring; but their attempts having no effect, the duchefs liftened to the overtures of Bolingbroke, who artfully fomented her jealoufy against Sir Robert Walpole, and prevailed on her to fecond his efforts.

Bolingbroke's audience with the king.

He drew up a long memorial, full of invectives against the minister, which the duchess of Kendal fecretly delivered to the king. After stating in various instances the misconduct of administration, he concluded, by requesting an audience, and undertook to demonstrate that the kingdom must inevitably be ruined, should Sir Robert Walpole continue at the head of the treasury. The king put this memorial into the hands of the minister, who concluded, that the person who conveyed it, could not be ignorant of the contents: after fome inquiry, he traced it to the duchess of Kendal, who, on being interrogated, acknowledged that she had delivered it, and attempted to justify her conduct by frivolous excuses. Walpole in reply, only entreated her as a favour, to fecond the inflances of Bolingbroke, and to procure for him that audience which

which he fo earnestly solicited. The duchess, after Chapter 30. feveral endeavours to excuse herself, promised compliance; and at a proper interval, Walpole befought the king to grant an audience to Bolingbroke; and urged the propriety, by observing, that if this request was rejected, much clamour would be raifed against him for keeping the king to himfelf, and for permitting none to approach his perfon who might tell unwelcome truths.

The king declined complying in fo positive a manner, that Walpole could not venture to press it any farther in person; but waited on the duchess to renew his application. He found lady Bolingbroke on a visit, and when she retired, was informed, that the king was unwilling to admit Bolingbroke, on a fupposition that it would make him uneafy. Walpole repeated his earnest entreaties, and declared that he could not be easy, until the audience was granted. These pressing folicitations finally had their effect; and Bolingbroke was admitted into the closet.

While Walpole was attending in an adjoining apartment, lord Letchmere came, and demanded admission for the fignature of papers, which he had brought as chancellor of the duchy of Cornwall. He was informed that Bolingbroke was with the king, and that Walpole was also waiting. In the midst of his surprise, Bolingbroke coming out, Letchmere instantly rushed into the closet, and without making any apology, or entering upon his own business, burst out into the most violent invectives against Walpole, whom he reviled as not

contented

Period III. contented with doing mischief himself, but as have 1720 to 1727 ing introduced one who was, if possible worse than himself, to be his affistant. The king, delighted with this miftake, calmly asked him, if he would undertake the office of prime minister. Letchmeremade no reply, but continued pouring forth his invectives, and finally departed without having offered any of the papers to fign. Walpole found the king fo highly diverted and occupied with this incident, that it was some time before he had an opportunity of inquiring the fubject of Bolingbroke's conversation. The king flightly answered, " Bagatelles, bagatelles."

Produces no effect.

Thus was this formidable attack defeated by the prudence and firmness of the minister; the king continued his confidential vifits, and on his departure for Hanover, ordered him to have the lodge in Richmond Park finished against his return \*.

Vague rumours on the fubiect.

Such is the account of this extraordinary transaction, given by Walpole himself +; yet other reports have been circulated, which deferve confideration. 'Bolingbroke fo confidently and repeatedly afferted, that on the king's return from Hanover. he should be appointed minister, that this opinion obtained belief, not only from his friends and partisans, but from others who were less inimical to the minister, and less desirous of his fall. Swift expresses his hopes on the subject, with his usual freedom, in a letter to Dr. Sheridan, May 13th,

<sup>\*</sup> From Lord Orford.

<sup>+</sup> Etough's Minutes of a Converfation with Sir Robert Walpole in September 1727. Correspondence.

1727; and Atterbury drew up a memorial to car- Chapter 30. dinal Fleury, in which he treated the fall of the minister as a certain event. Pelham also told fpeaker Onflow \*, that at this period, Walpole was fo convinced of Bolingbroke's intended elevation, as to have adopted the resolution of resigning and accepting a peerage, but was deterred by the remonstrances of the duke of Devonshire, and the representations of the princess of Wales, who disfuaded him from accepting an office which would incapacitate him for taking his accustomed lead in the house of commons.

On the other hand, Horace Walpole, lady Walfingham, and the duchess of Kendal herself, in a conversation with Sir Matthew Decker, afferted that the king did not intend to difmits Walpole. It is not difficult, however, to reconcile these contradictory reports. It was natural for Bolingbroke to propagate an opinion tending to exalt his own importance; it is probable that Walpole, in a peevish moment of diffatisfaction, might have expressed a resolution of retiring; and the whole account might possibly have received its greatest authority from Walpole's own declaration, that knowing the venality of the duchefs of Kendal, her ascendancy over the king, and the influence of Bolingbroke over her, he was not without apprehenfions that her efforts might have finally fucceeded.

The king departed for Hanover on the 3d of Death of de June; he enjoyed perfect health till he arrived at king.

<sup>\*</sup> Onflow's Remarks: Correspondence, Period IV.

Period III.

Delden. He was entertained by the count de 1720 to 1727. Twittel, at a country house about twenty miles from that town. The king eat fome melons after

June 10-21.

fupper, which probably caused the indigestion of which he died. He returned that evening to Delden, and fet out early the next morning, after having breakfasted on a cup of chocolate. On his arrival at Bentheim, the king felt himself indifposed, but continued his journey in opposition to the repeated entreaties of his fuite. His indifpofition increased, and when he arrived at Ippenburen, he was quite lethargic; his hand fell down as if lifeless, and his tongue hung out of his mouth. He gave, however, figns of life, by continually crying out, as well as he could articulate, Ofnabrug, Ofnabrug. This impatience to reach Ofnabrug, induced the attendants not to stop at Ippenburen, but to haften on, in hopes of arriving at that city before he died. But it was too late. The exact time and place of his death cannot be ascertained; but it is most probable, that he expired either as the carriage was ascending the hill near Ippenburen, or on the fummit. On their arrival at the palace of his brother, the bishop of Ofnabrug, he was immediately bled, but all attempts to recover him proved ineffectual \*. A courier had been dispatched to the duchess of Kendal, who had remained at Delden, with the account of the king's dangerous fituation; he met her on

<sup>\*</sup> For this account of the king's death, I am indebted to my friend Nathaniel W. Wraxall, esquire, who obtained it from persons at Hanover and Ofnabrug, who recollected the event.

the road, about two miles the other fide of the Chapter 20. Rhine; but as she was hastening on, another courier announced his death. She beat her breaft, tore her hair, and gave figns of extreme grief; and then difmiffing the English ladies who accompanied her, took the road to Brunswic, where she continued three months \*

Lord Townshend, who was on his journey to Hanover, repaired instantly to Osnabrug, where he arrived on the 22d, early in the morning; but finding the king demised, he wrote a letter + of condolence and congratulation to the new fovereign, and taking post, pursued his journey to England.

Before I conclude the reign of George the First, one remarkable fact must not be omitted: As the king could not readily speak English, nor Sir Robert Walpole French, the minister was obliged to deliver his fentiments in Latin; and as neither could converse in that language with readiness and propriety, Walpole was frequently heard to fay, that during the reign of the first George, he governed the kingdom by means of bad latin to It is a matter of wonder, that under fuch disadvan-

<sup>\*</sup> The duchels of Kendal was fifter of Frederic Achatius, count of Schulenburgh and Hedlen. Petronelle Melefina, countefs of Walfingham, who afterwards married the earl of Chesterfield, was supposed to be her daughter by George the First, though she was considered as her niece. The duches returned to England, and died in 1743 at a very advanced age. She principally refided at Kendal House, Isleworth, which was after her death converted into a tea garden. Her immense property was divided amongst her German relations, and the counters of

<sup>+</sup> Sir Cyril Wick to Stephen Poyntz, June 27, 1727. Correspondence. Lord Townshend to the king.

I From lord Orford.

Period III.

tages, the king should take pleasure in transacting 1720 to 1727. business with him; a circumstance principally owing to the method and perspicuity of his calculations, and to the extreme facility with which he arranged and explained the most abstruse and difficult combinations of finance.

Memoirs of Sophia of Zell.

It has been already observed, that George the First had, by a left-handed marriage, espoused the duchess of Kendal, though his real wife, the unfortunate Sophia Dorothy, was still alive. Sophia was the only child of William duke of Zell, by Eleanor d'Emiers, of the house of Olbreuse, in France; she was born in 1666, and her hand was courted by the most powerful princes of Germany. His father Ernest Augustus having once designed him for the princess Anne, afterwards queen of England; he actually went to England to pay his addreffes, and was well received and approved by the whole court. But he was recalled by his father who had fuddenly concluded a match for him with his coufin.

Sophia, at the time of their marriage, was only fixteen years of age, and was a princess of great perfonal charms and mental endowments\*; yet her attractions did not retain the affections of her hufband. After she had brought him a fon and a daughter, he neglected his amiable confort, and attached himself to a favourite mistress.

Such was the fituation of Sophia, when count Konigsmark, a Swedish nobleman, arrived at Hanover. He was a man of a good figure, and pro-

feffed gallantry; had been formerly enamoured of Chapter 20. Sophia at Zell, and was supposed to have made. fome impression on her heart. On the fight of her, his passion, which had been diminished by absence, broke out with increasing violence; he had the imprudence publicly to renew his attentions; and as George was abfent at the army, made his folicitations with redoubled ardour. Information of his attachment, and of his fuccess, was conveyed to Ernest Augustus; and one evening, as the count came out of her apartment, and was croffing a paffage, he was put to death by persons placed to intercept him, in the presence of the elector; and tradition still marks the spot where this affassination was committed. Sophia was immediately put under arrest; and though she solemnly protested her innocence; yet circumstances spoke strongly against her.

George, who never loved his wife, gave implicit credit to the account of her infidelity, as related by his father; confented to her imprisonment, and obtained from the ecclefiaftical confiftory, a divorce, which was passed on the 28th of December 1694. And even her father, the duke of Zell, who doated on his only daughter, does not feem to have entertained any doubts of her guilt; for he continued upon the strictest terms of friendship with Ernest Augustus, and his fon-in-law.

The unfortunate Sophia was confined in the castle of Alden, situated on the small river Aller, in the duchy of Zell. She terminated her mise-

is a better; which is not (perhaps even yet) prindent product to publish.

Period III. rable existence, after a long captivity of thirty-two 1720 to 1727; years, on the 13th of November 1726, in the fixtyfirst year of her age, only seven months before the death of George the First; and she was announced in the Gazette, under the title of the Electress Dowager of Hanover.

> During her whole confinement, she behaved with no less mildness than dignity; and on receiving the facrament once every week, never omitted on that awful occasion, making the most solemn affeverations, that fhe was not guilty of the crime laid to her charge. Subsequent circumstances have come to light, which appear to justify her memory; and reports are current at Hanover, that her character was basely defamed, and that she fell a sacrifice to the jealoufy and perfidy of the counters of Platen, favourite mistress of Ernest Augustus. Being enamoured of count Konigsmark, who slighted her overtures, jealousy took possession of her breast: she determined to facrifice both the lover and the princefs to her vengeance, and circumstances favoured her defign. The land to be in the land to be a line of

> The prince was absent at the army; Ernest Augustus was a man of warm passions and violent temper, eafily irritated, and when irritated, incapable of controul. Sophia herfelf had treated count Konigsmark with regard and attention, and the lover was hot-headed, felf-fufficient, priding himfelf on his personal accomplishments, and accustomed to fucceed in affairs of gallantry.

> Those who exculpate Sophia, affert either that a common visit was construed into an act of criminality;

nality; or that the counters of Platen, at a late Chapter 30, hour, fummoned count Konigsmark in the name of the princess, though without her connivance; that on being introduced, Sophia was furprifed at his intrusion; that on quitting the apartment, he was discovered by Ernest Augustus, whom the counters had placed in the gallery, and was instantly affaffinated by perfons whom the had fuborned for that purpose.

It is impossible, at this distance of time, to discover and trace the circumstances of this mysterious transaction, on which no person at the court of Hanover durst at that time deliver his opinion. But the fudden murder of count Konigsmark may be urged as a corroboration of this statement: for had his guilt, and that of Sophia been unequivocal, would he not have been arrested and brought to a trial for the purpose of proving their connection, and confronting him with the unfortunate princess?

Many persons of credit at Hanover have not scrupled, fince the death of Ernest Augustus and George the First, to express their belief that the imputation cast on Sophia was false and unjust. It is also reported, that her husband having made an offer of reconciliation, she gave this noble and difdainful answer of haughty virtue, unconscious of ftain: " If what I am accused of is true, I am unworthy of his bed; and if my accufation is falle, he is unworthy of me; I will not accept his offers."

George the Second, who doated on his mother, was fully convinced of her innocence. He once Period III.

made an attempt to fee her, and even croffed the 1720 to 1727. Aller on horseback, opposite to the Castle, but was prevented from having an interview by the baron de Bulow, to whose care the Elector, her husband, had committed her. Had she survived his accession, he intended to restore her to liberty, and acknowledge her as queen dowager. Her memory was fo dear to him, that he fecretly kept her portrait in his possession: and the morning after the news of the death of George the First had reached London, Mrs. Howard observed (in the antichamber of the king's apartment) a picture of a woman in the electoral robes, which proved to be that of Sophia.

> George the Second told queen Caroline, that in making some repairs in the palace of Hanover, the bones of count Konigsmark were found under the floor of the antichamber which led to the apartment of Sophia. The queen mentioned this fact to Sir Robert Walpole\*, and in various conversations which she held on this subject, she appeared fully convinced of her innocence; an opinion which the minister & himself constantly adhered to.

m Wrayall's account is very imperfect.

<sup>#</sup> From lord Orford.

<sup>+</sup> The account of Sophia of Zell, is derived from the MS. Journal of N. W. Wraxall, Esq; Etough's Papers, and various communication, which I received at Hanover, and Polnitz's Memoirs. A pretended history is published under the title of Histoire secrete de la Duchesse d'Hanovre, Epouse de George Premier, Roi de la Grande Bretagne. Les malheurs de cette infortunée princesse, sa prison au Chateau d'Ahler où elle a fini ses jours; ses intelligences secrettes avec le comte de Konigsmark, assassiné à ce sujet, which is a mere romance.





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